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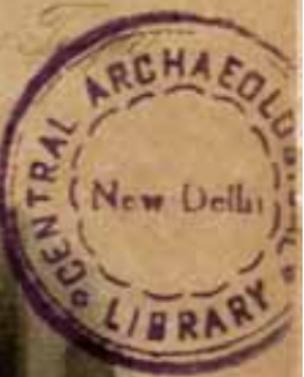


LIVES
OF
EMINENT
BRITISH STATESMEN.

VOL. II.

By John Foster, Esq. of the Inner Temple

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PREFACE.

In giving the lives of the most prominent actors upon the great and awful stage of the Old English Revolution, the Author has thought himself justified in departing from the system observed by his predecessors, and, instead of the numerous individual sketches that, under other circumstances, are all that is necessary, devoting a whole volume at a time to but two or three of those eventful biographies which include the histories of minor contemporaries, and, indeed, the history of the age itself. For the times, awful as they were, were scarcely greater than the men ; — the ideas of both present themselves to us at once, like shadowy and solid giants standing together, and hardly letting us discern which leads the other.

The life of Eliot is the first that has appeared. He did not survive to be an actor in the scene during the most *obvious* part of the great contest ; and posterity has been so much occupied with those who did, that they are startled when they have leisure to look back, and see these older and not less noble shapes of its commencement, — these less bodily, yet hardly less visible, demi-gods, — who

were its first inspiring minds. Eliot was the greatest actor in the outbreak of the Revolution, though it became ultimately the more memorable part of his lot to think and to suffer ; and the reader will see that he did both, with that mixture of force and delicacy, that prose of common sense and poetry of the heart, which so remarkably characterises the man of business in that age, and which is traceable, in the Author's opinion, to the effect which the chivalrous breeding of the reign of Elizabeth had upon the rising generation. The sons and daughters of the "Arcadia" were the parents of the men of Charles and Cromwell.

58. Lincoln's Inn Fields.



ANALYTICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL,
TO THE SECOND VOLUME OF
LIVES OF
EMINENT BRITISH STATESMEN.

SIR JOHN ELIOT.

1590—1632.

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LIVES

OF

EMINENT BRITISH STATESMEN.

SIR JOHN ELIOT.

1590—1632.

JOHN ELIOT was "a Cornishman born, and an esquire's son."¹ His family, though new residents in that county, were of very ancient Devonshire descent. Prince alludes to them in his "Worthies;" and Fuller has pointed out the name of Walter Eliot, one of his ancestors, in the sheriff's return of the gentry of the county of Devon, made in 1433, during the reign of Henry VI. Browne Willis, who may be considered a good authority on the subject, having married a lineal descendant of the family², states that this Walter Eliot allied himself to the family of sir Richard Eliot, appointed a justice of the court of King's Bench by Henry VIII., but more illustrious as the father of one of the earliest of our vernacular writers, the famous sir Thomas Eliot.³ The first of the family who settled in Cornwall appears to have been the great-uncle of sir

¹ Anthony Wood, Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 478. Ed. Bliss.

² See Ducarel's "Life of Browne Willis."

³ Browne Willis's "Notitia Parliamentaria," vol. ii. p. 142.

John, who obtained from the family of Champernowne the priory of St. Germains and its lands, in exchange for property possessed by him at Cutlands, near Ashburton.¹ To this priory the name of Port Eliot was then given, which it bears to this day. Its large estates have descended with it from father to son, and form a considerable portion of the property of the present earl of St. Germains.²

At this seat of Port Eliot John Eliot was born, on the 20th of April, 1590.³ In his youth he was subjected to none of the restraints that should have been applied to a temper naturally ardent. His father was a man of easy habits, kept very hospitable house⁴, flung it open to every sort of visitor, and never, it is to be presumed, troubled himself to consider the effect of such a course upon the uncontrolled disposition and manners of his son. It is to this lax education that we have to attribute a painful incident in the life of Eliot, of which the most treacherous advantage has been taken by his political enemies.⁵

Archdeacon Echard, a notorious advocate of the Stuarts, and a most inaccurate historical writer, gave the first public account of it. After stating, most untruly (as we have seen), that Eliot was of a "new

¹ "I do not know," says an accomplished living descendant of the patriot, "the exact year in which this change took place; but John Eliot died at the priory of St. Germains, having given it the name of Port Eliot, in 1563. An account of that transaction is to be found in Carew's Survey of Cornwall, published about 1590. Chalmers, in his Biographical Dictionary, speaks of the family of Eliot of Port Eliot, and those of Heathfield and Minto, to be descended from a sir W. Aliot, who came over with William the Conqueror; but this account is merely traditional, and cannot be borne out by proof. The Herald's Visitation of Cornwall, made in 1602, and preserved in the Heralds' College, gives the armorial bearings of the family; the shield containing twelve quarterings,—a proof, at a time when pretensions to heraldic honours were minutely scrutinised, that the origin of the family could not have been very recent." — *Lord Eliot*.

² In "Notitia Parliamentaria," (the notice of the borough of St. Germains, at p. 149. of the second volume), a description will be found of Port Eliot. See also "Carew's Survey of Cornwall," ed. 1682; and the fourth volume of Mr. D'Israeli's "Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles I," p. 509.

³ Browne Willis. Anthony Wood fixes it incorrectly at 1592.

⁴ See "Carew's Survey of Cornwall."

⁵ How eagerly such a charge as that which follows would have been seized by the bitter opponents of Eliot among his contemporaries, had a reasonable foundation existed for it, is sufficiently obvious. It might have served as the tishe of an apology for his harsh treatment: Nowhere, however, in parliament or elsewhere, does a trace of it appear.

family¹," this archdeacon proceeds: — " Within his own parish there lived one Mr. John Moyle, a gentleman of very good note and character in his country, who, together with his son, had the honour to serve in parliament. Whether out of rivalry or otherwise, Mr. Eliot, having, upon a very slight occasion, entertained a bitter grudge against the other, went to his house under the show of a friendly visit, and there treacherously stabbed him, while he was turning on one side to take a glass of wine to drink to him."² He states further: " Mr. Moyle outlived this base attempt about forty years, who, with some others of his family, often told the particulars to his grandson, Dr. Prideaux, and *other relations, from whom I had this particular account.*"³ We are here left uncertain, it will be seen, whether the account was received at fifth or sixth hand from gossiping relations, or from the respected and learned dean of Norwich. A late writer, however, has thought fit to assume the latter, and has insisted, with considerable and very obstinate vehemence, on the probable truth of the statement.⁴ With the help of materials in a lately published work by lord Nugent⁵, and guided by a fact I have discovered respecting sir John Eliot's father, I now present this singular incident in a new, and, it may be hoped, a final aspect.

It occurred, so far as there is truth in it, in the extreme youth of Eliot. That he should have earned for himself, at that time, the epithet " wilful," will scarcely appear surprising after what I have said of the habits and indulgences of his father. Mr. Moyle, who resided at Bake, a district of the parish of St. Germains, close to Port Eliot⁶, took upon himself to warn old Eliot that

¹ Echard's History, p. 424. folio, ed. 1790. Is this the "contemporary writer" to whom Mr. D'Israeli alludes, in vol. iv. p. 508. of his Commentaries? I can find no other.

² Echard's History, p. 424.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Mr. D'Israeli. See his Commentaries, vol. ii. p. 270; vol. iv. p. 513.; his pamphlet in answer to lord Nugent's "Memorials of Hampden," p. 5.

⁵ Memorials of Hampden.

⁶ Notitia Parliamentaria. Browne Willis, the intimate friend of the Moyles, does not make the slightest allusion to this incident, as retrans-

such was the disposition of his son. Miss Aikin, the historical writer, has now in her possession a letter, written by an ancestor of one of the most respectable families of Devonshire, wherein the cause and course of the quarrel which ensued are given, as described by the daughter of Mr. Moyle himself, a witness not likely to be unjustly partial to sir John Eliot.¹ This is the statement of that letter.—Mr. Moyle having acquainted sir John Eliot's father with some extravagances in his son's expenses, and this being reported with some aggravating circumstances, young Eliot went hastily to Mr. Moyle's house and remonstrated. What words passed she knows not, but Eliot drew his sword, and wounded Mr. Moyle in the side. “‘On reflection,’ continues Mr. Moyle's daughter, ‘he soon detested the fact; and from thenceforward became as remarkable for his private deportment, in every view of it, as his public conduct. Mr. Moyle was so entirely reconciled to him, that no person, in his time, held him in higher esteem.’”

That this hasty ebullition of will occurred in extreme youth, I am now prepared to prove. I find, from documents of the time, that Eliot's father died in 1609.² He was buried in the church of St. Germains, on the 24th of June in that year. Anthony Wood (the best authority on such a point, though on such only) tells us that young Eliot entered college in 1607, and continued there three years.³ It is evident, therefore, that at the time of the quarrel with Moyle, Eliot *could not have been more* than seventeen, or—assuming (which is most unlikely) that it occurred in a college vacation of his first year—eighteen years old. This will be considered as established beyond further doubt. It is con-

bered harshly by that family; a circumstance explained by the testimony which has been since obtained from the daughter of the pretended “victim.”⁴

¹ See *Memorials of Hampden*, vol. i. p. 152. Aikin's *Charles the First*, vol. i. p. 265.

² Willis's *Researches into the Pedigree of the Eliots*. *Not. Parl.*, vol. ii. p. 144.

³ Ath. Oxon., vol. ii. p. 478.

firmed still more by a remarkable document which has been found among the Eliot papers¹, "An apologie," addressed to Mr. Moyle by young Eliot, for the "greate injury" he had done him, and witnessed by names, some of which were afterwards greatly distinguished in the parliamentary history of the time. The terms of it are highly curious, and indicate the writer clearly. It is an atonement which marks the characteristic impulse of a young and generous mind, anxious to repair an unpremeditated wrong. "Mr. Moyle," so runs the apology, "I doe acknowledge I have done you a greate injury, which I wish I had never done, and doe desire you to remit it; and I desire that all unkindnesse may be forgiven and forgotten betwixt us, and henceforward I shall desire and deserve your love in all friendly offices, as I hope you will mine. Jo. ELYOTTE."

That this apology was honestly meant, and strictly redeemed, that the writer did desire the love of him whom he had hastily injured, and deserve it, and, moreover, obtain it — we are fortunately not without ample proof. In the volume of Eliot papers already referred to, exist two letters², written, many years after this event, by sir John to this very Mr. Moyle, granting him solicited favours. It was a saying of shrewd severity, that few natures exist capable of making compensation to those whom they may have injured, or even of ceasing to follow them with resentment. Assuredly, however, rare and virtuous as such natures are, John Eliot's was one of them. He held himself the constant and willing debtor of the man he had unwillingly offended. "I am sorry," he says, in one of his letters, after granting Moyle what he had asked, "this return is not better to the occasion you have given me; it may serve for an expression of my power, though my affection be beyond it. I can command corruption out of no man, but in

¹ See lord Eliot's communication to Mr. D'Israeli, full of excellent feeling, and a proper concern for the memory of his great progenitor, "Commentaries," vol. iv. p. 529.

² Eliot Papers, MS., Nos. 63. and 98.

mine own heart have a clear will to serve you, and shall faithfully remain your true friend." In the other, written some months after, in answer to an intercession by Moyle for an offending tenant of sir John's, the following passage occurs:—"In answer to your love, I will give orders to my servant Hill, at his return into the country, to repay him the money that's received, and so to leave him to his old interest for the tenement, in which he must acknowledge your courtesy and favour, for whose satisfaction it is done by your most affectionate friend."¹

Taken in connection with the statements I have given, this incident assumes, in my mind, a more than ordinary interest, and becomes, indeed, an important feature in the life of Eliot. It is the line drawn between his passing youth and coming manhood. Whatever may have been the turbulence of his boyhood, whatever the struggle of its uncurbed passions, this event startled him into a perfect and sober self-control. His "private deportment," says Mr. Moyle's daughter, was as remarkable ever after, as that of his public conduct. In the latter, his temper never ceased to be ardent for the general good, and against the wrongful oppressor. In private, it was ardent in kindness, in busy purposes and affections for those around him. To the "last right end," he stood

"A perfect patriot, and a noble friend,"—

¹ Mr. D'Israeli has said, in his fourth volume, p. 513. (in reference to the "apologie" quoted in a preceding page), "I perfectly agree that this extraordinary apology was not written by a man who had stabbed his companion in the back; nor can I imagine, that after such a revolting incident, any approximation at a renewal of intercourse would have been possible." He then proceeds, with very amusing pertinacity, to shift the grounds of the charge. His argument, however, on his own admission, is wholly exploded by the letters above cited. No malignity, however desperate or reckless, can again revive it. I cannot leave the subject of this first calumny, in the promotion of which Mr. D'Israeli has joined with such painful and mistaken bitterness, without expressing my regret, that political passion, and preconceived notions of character, should so bewilder an ingenuous mind. Mr. D'Israeli, though in all cases too fond of suggesting events from rumours, has rendered many services to history, and notwithstanding his various misstatements respecting Eliot, which I shall have occasion to refute, has never scrupled to pay a not unwilling tribute to the greatness of his intellect.

and so his biographer must delineate him, apart from all preconceived affections or prejudices.

Immediately after the quarrel with Mr. Moyle, it is probable that young Eliot left his home for the university of Oxford. Anthony Wood states that he "became a gentleman-commoner of Exeter college, in Michaelmas term anno 1607, aged 15."¹ The same authority tells us that he left the university, without a degree, after he had continued there about three years.² That his time, however, was not misspent at that venerable seat of study, he afterwards well proved. He had naturally a fine imagination; and when, on the lapse of a few years, it burst forth in the house of commons, it was surrounded with the pomp of Greek and Roman learning. In the studies of his youth, in those invaluable treasures of thought and language which are placed within the reach of every scholar, he had strengthened himself for great duties. And more than this. In his youthful contemplation of the ancient school philosophy, he had provided for his later years the enjoyment of those sublime reveries, which, we shall have occasion to see, were his chief consolations in a dungeon. Little probably, did he then imagine, as he was first making the acquaintance of Seneca, of Plato, and the Stagyrite, that they would stand him in the stead of friends, when prison bars had shut out every other.

The sudden interruption to his studies, at the expiration of three years, appears to have originated in his desire to obtain some acquaintance with the common law of England. This knowledge began then to be considered a necessary accomplishment for one who aspired to the honours of parliament, with the view of supporting the principles of the rising country party. Eliot was one of these; and, as Wood informs us, after leaving the university, "went to one of the inns of court, and became a barrister."³ The lapse of a year

¹ Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 478. This is incorrect, however, as I have stated, in respect of Eliot's age. He was seventeen.

² Ath. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 478.

³ Ibid.

or two introduces us to a new incident in his private life, of which a malignant advantage has, as usual, been taken by his political opponents.

His disposition, never less active than meditative, induced him to visit the continent. At precisely the same period, the discerning lady Villiers¹ had sent her famous son to grace the beauty of his face, and the handsomeness of his person (his only birthright), by the advantages of foreign travel. Eliot and Villiers met, and the courtesies of English travellers in a foreign country ensued between them.² They journeyed together; and it is not surprising that a generous warmth in the disposition of Eliot should have suited well with the bold address and sprightliness of temper, for which alone, at that time, George Villiers was remarkable. It is said they became intimate. In all probability they did so, if we may judge from a circumstance that shall in due course be noticed.

Meanwhile, I have another misrepresentation to clear away. After his return from the continent, Eliot married. It has been reserved for the writer before referred to—Mr. D'Israeli, whose ingenuity of research, and pleasant attractiveness of style, are only outstripped by his violent political tendencies, and his most amusing professions of philosophical impartiality—to fasten upon even this domestic, and most private, incident in the

¹ Buckingham was a younger son, by a second marriage, of sir George Villiers, of Brookesley, in Leicestershire, whose family, though ancient, had hitherto been unheard of in the kingdom. His mother is reported to have served in his father's kitchen, but he, being struck with her extraordinary beauty and person, which the meanness of her clothes could not hide, prevailed with lady Villiers, not without difficulty, to raise her to a higher office; and on the death of that lady he married this her servant. As, however, the heir by a former marriage succeeded to the family estate, it became a grand object with lady Villiers, who had obtained the means through a second husband, whom she afterwards deserted, to accomplish her children for pushing their own fortune in the world. Hence her conduct to George, as I have noticed it above. See R. Coke, p. 74. Hacket's Life of Williams, part i. p. 171. Brodie's British Empire, vol. ii. p. 12, 13.

² Echard's History, p. 424. Mr. D'Israeli claims the merit of having discovered this (vol. iv. p. 307.; Pamphlet, p. 5.),—a claim on which his friends also insist (see Quarterly Review, No. xciv. p. 470.), on what authority does not appear. Echard was the first discoverer, if there be any merit in it; nor would his statement have carried any weight, but that other circumstances have tended to confirm it.

life of Eliot, as another instance of what he is pleased to consider the turbulence and "ungovernable passion" of his "bold and adventurous character."¹ Without quoting any authority, Mr. D'Israeli states, that "when the house of commons voted 5000*l.* for a compensation to the family for his [Eliot's] 'sufferings,' they also voted another 2000*l.*, part of four, for which he had been fined by the court of wards, by reason of his marriage with sir Daniel Norton's daughter." He then goes on to state that this indicates the violent carrying off of the lady by the turbulent Eliot. What possible authority Mr. D'Israeli can bring forward for this statement, I know not. The only record in existence bearing on such a subject, so far as I am aware, is an entry in the earl of Leicester's journal, of unquestioned authenticity and correctness. It is most satisfactory on the point, as will be seen; and I will not suppose that this was the source from which Mr. D'Israeli derived his statement. It is as follows: — "Monday, 18th January, 1646. The house of commons this day, according to former order, took into consideration the great losses and sufferings of many members, in the yeare tertio Caroli, for speaking (in parliament) in behalf of the kingdom. A report whereof was made to the house, from the committee to whom it was formerly referred; and the commons, upon debate, passed several votes for allowances to be given to such members, in recompense of theyr wrongs and sufferings, as followeth: several names are then specified, and among them, "that 5000*l.* be allowed to sir John Elliotte's younger children; and *his elder son's* fine in the court of wards to be remitted."²

This "elder son," against whose turbulence the reproof of Mr. D'Israeli ought to have been directed, was a youth of idle and riotous habits, very wild irregularities, which subsequently, as we shall show, proved a source

¹ See Mr. D'Israeli's *Commentaries*, vol. ii. p. 283.

² *Sidney Papers*, pp. 2, 3. This early portion of the *Journal* is especially remarkable for its accuracy and precision. All of it was written for the author's private use.

of much anxiety and disquiet to his father. He was the exact person for the adventure maliciously fixed upon sir John. The latter married without violating the laws of any court, but was deprived of his wife by death, after she had presented him with two sons.¹ The "younger children" alluded to in the passage quoted would seem to comprise the family of the second son.

Eliot's intercourse with Villiers was now resumed. A wonderful change had taken place in the interval. The base creature Somerset had been prosecuted at last, ostensibly for the murder of Overbury², but, in reality, to provide room for a fourth favourite, on whom the majesty of the day might lavish its shameless fondness. That new favourite was selected in the person of George Villiers. Well might lord Clarendon exclaim, "Never any man, in any age, nor, I believe, in any country or nation, rose in so short a time to so much greatness of honour, fame, or fortune, upon no other advantage or recommendation than of the beauty or gracefulness of his person."³ Among the successive honours showered in ridiculous abundance upon him, fell that of lord high admiral of England. With this office was connected the duty of appointing vice-admirals in the several counties; and it is probable that, personal motives of acquaintance or even friendship quite apart, the name of Eliot was instantly suggested to the young favourite, as one that claimed on every ground a promotion of this sort. He possessed one of the largest paternal estates of any gentleman of the time, and had the command of much influence in his own and the neighbouring county. Accordingly we find that the lapse of a short time after that which saw Villiers promoted to the office of lord high admiral, saw Eliot made

¹ This is evident from the Eliot Papers, MS.

² I avail myself of the opportunity which the mention of this name affords me, to remind the reader that sir Thomas Overbury, scarcely remembered but for his misfortunes, is deserving of a better and more grateful remembrance. He was an accomplished scholar, and adorned literature by many delicate writings. Some passages in the "Witty Characters" appended to his poem of "The Wife," are quite unequalled for simplicity and gentleness.

³ History of the Rebellion, folio ed. vol. i. p. 9.

vice-admiral of Devonshire. He was also appointed chairman of the committee of stannaries — of his duties in which office he has left a manuscript report — and, at the same time, he received knighthood.

In accordance with the desperate and unwearied spirit of misrepresentation I have already had so many occasions to allude to, the political enemies of this illustrious person have seized on this change in his estate, to attribute it to those vile and vulgar motives, which alone they would seem to be acquainted with. Echard leads the way, connecting it, most unfortunately for his purpose, with the incident of Moyle.¹ After giving the false account, formerly quoted, of that youthful anecdote, the archdeacon proceeds : “ And now, supposing he had perfected his revenge, he immediately hastened to London to address himself to his sure friend the duke of Buckingham, in order to get his pardon : which, to his great disappointment, he could not obtain without advancing a considerable sum of money into the exchequer. But as soon as his pardon was sealed, and the money paid, he received intelligence that Mr. Moyle was unexpectedly recovered. Upon the happy assurance of this, he again applied himself to the duke, to procure the repayment of the money ; but that being swallowed up in the occasions of the court beyond any recovery, all that he could obtain in lieu of it was to be knighted : which, though it might have allayed the heat of his ambition, was so heinously taken at the hands of a person once his equal, that after that he never ceased to be his mortal enemy, but helped to blow up such a flame in the house as was never extinguished.” This monstrous account, which I have extracted partly for the amusement of the reader, has found its believers in the present day.² It is idle to waste words on its refutation. At the period when, it is thus hardily asserted, the assassin Eliot hurried up

¹ Echard's History, p. 424.

² See Mr. D'Israeli's Commentaries, vol. II. p. 270. — a passage which has not yet been retracted.

to his friend the duke, to crave protection from the laws he had outraged, that "assassin" was but a boy, and the "duke" plain George Villiers, with less power than his pretended suppliant.

But the inconsistencies of the candid "historians" and "commentators" do not end here. Mr. D'Israeli, who adopts the ridiculously false statement just quoted, has attempted to corroborate it by the production of a letter written in the year 1623 to the duke.¹ That is to say, he adopts the statement that sir John repaid the protection and the knighthood given him by the duke with immediate and violent hostility; and proposes to corroborate that, by producing a letter written in courteous and deferential terms, by sir John to the duke, some considerable time after the period of the knighthood. The gross folly of this is apparent. I pass that, however, to consider the letter, and the position attempted to be established by its means, namely, "that in 1623 we find sir John a suppliant to, and at least a complimentary admirer of, the minister, and only two years after, in 1625, Eliot made his first personal attack on that minister, his late patron and friend, whom he then selected as a victim of state."²

With respect to the first part of this charge, the answer is short and obvious. The letter is not written in sir John's personal character, but as vice-admiral of Devonshire, to the lord high admiral of England. This is admitted even, in another place, by the author of the charge himself.³ The office of vice-admiral had proved extremely troublesome to sir John, involving him in many disputes concerning the wrecks on the coast, and saddling him with the expenses of various trials.⁴ Rather than submit to these, it would appear that, in one instance, Eliot preferred to subject himself to the inconveniences of arrest. Under such circumstances

¹ *Commentaries*, vol. ii. p. 270.

² *Pamphlet*, p. 6.

³ *Commentaries*, vol. II. p. 270.

⁴ See Commons' Journals, 17th of February, 1623; and again, 2d of March in the same year.

it was most natural that he should seek some reparation for the injuries he had undergone in support of the office and rights of the duke of Buckingham. For this purpose the letter in question was written : its tone is expostulatory, and, courteous as its terms are, it is even deficient in those elaborately complimentary phrases which were considered due, in that age, to the ceremonious observances of letter-writing. It is as follows.

" Right honourable,—With what affection I have served your grace, I desire rather it should be read in my actions than my words, which made me sparing in my last relation to touch those difficulties wherewith my letters have been checkt, that they might the more fully speak themselves. *I shall not seek to gloss them now*, but, as they have been, leave them to your grace's acceptance, which I presume so noble, that scandal or detraction cannot decline it. It were an injury of your worth, which I dare not attempt, to *insinuate* the opinion of any merit by false colours or pretences, or with hard circumstances to endear my labours, and might beget suspicion, sooner than assurance in your credit, which I may not hazard. *My innocence, I hope, needs not these; nor would I shadow the least errour under your protection.* But when my services have been faithful, and not altogether vain, directed truly to the honour and benefit of YOUR PLACE, only suffering upon the disadvantage of your absence, I must importune your grace to support my weakness, that it may cause no prejudice of your rights and liberties, which I have studied to preserve, though with the loss of mine own. My insistance therein hath exposed me to a long imprisonment and great charge, which still increaseth, and threatens the ruin of my poor fortunes, if they be not speedily prevented. For which, as my endeavours have been wholly yours, I most humbly crave your grace's favour both to myself and them ; in

which I am devoted. Your grace's thrice humble servant.

J. ELIOT."

" Novemb. 8. 1623."¹

Now, not a single expression in this letter is inconsistent with the construction which I have placed on it, or justly appropriate to any other construction. The complimentary phrases fall evidently short of the notorious custom of the time. I am, indeed, surprised at the bareness of the language, considering the year in which it was written. Buckingham had just then managed to conciliate the country party², and was bespattered with praise in all directions. The people, freed from the political panic that had been caused by the prospect of the Spanish match, in the suddenness of the escape showered applauses on the masked duke; and sir Edward Coke, leading the opposition in the house of commons, was betrayed shortly after into the very professional hyperbole of calling him the "*saviour of his country*".³ Had the terms of Eliot's letter, therefore, been most adulatory, there would have existed little cause for wonder: we see that they are not so. Whether the letter was answered or not, appears uncertain; but the acquaintance of the parties did not cease here, as I shall have occasion to indicate hereafter.⁴ One word more on this subject. Mr. D'Israeli, alluding to the date of this letter, calls it "*the close of 1523*", which would intimate that parliament had already commenced its sitting; and then goes on to tell his readers, that the patriotism of Eliot was a "*political revolution*, which did not happen till two years after he had been

¹ Cabala, ed. 1663, pp. 412, 413. The italics are my own. They show the independence of spirit which breaks through even this official complaining.

² In the same volume of letters — the "Cabala" — p. 380, is a letter to the duke from a stanch and unslandered patriot, sir Robert Philips, on which a precisely similar charge to this we are now discussing might be as easily founded. Had Mr. D'Israeli overlooked this? He admits Philips to have been, emphatically, an independent country gentleman.

³ Clarendon, Hist. vol. i. p. 7.

⁴ At the duke's death a suit pended between them, and accounts still unsettled. Eliot MSS.

⁵ Commentaries, vol. ii. p. 272.

a suppliant to this very minister.”¹ This is most untrue. The letter was written in the eighth month of 1623 (old style), two months before the assembling of parliament; and in that parliament the voice of Eliot was heard, in stirring accents of honest patriotism. Though none of his speeches at this period have been preserved in the parliamentary histories, I am prepared to prove, from the journals of the house of commons, and from manuscript records, that no “political revolution” ever occurred in his life; that he was consistent from the first; that his eloquence was often exerted in that last assembly of James’s reign, and never but in support of the great party for whose rights and privileges he afterwards suffered death.

A few words may here be allowed to me, on the aspect of public affairs at the meeting of this parliament, which introduced Eliot to public life.² I shall always avoid, in these biographies, matters of general history or character, except so far as may be needed in illustration of individual conduct, or of those particular questions which called forth its distinctive energies. That individual conduct shall also be limited, as much as possible, to the subject of each life. Thus, in the present instance, I have nothing to do with the great men who laboured in the same cause with Eliot, except as their general policy and characteristics illustrate his exertions. I have nothing to do with the great questions they agitated, except in so far as they called forth his individual energies: what remains will be noticed in other biographies; nor shall I seek in vain the opportunity of observing upon any great incident of this great era of statesmanship. The first object will in all cases be, to carry light and life into general history, by particular details of character.

The ignominious defeat of the elector palatine by Spinola, and the circumstances which ought especially to have induced James to render assistance to his weak

¹ *Commentaries*, vol. II. p. 227.

² For a sketch of the preceding parliaments, see the biography of Strafford.

but unfortunate son-in-law, belong to history.¹ In not doing so, he subjected himself to the derision of Europe², and to the self-reproach (if he were able to have felt it) of having sacrificed the noblest opportunity of making himself popular in his own nation, and honoured every where, as the asserter of civil and religious liberty. But he was bound in the fetters of Spain, and had set his foolish heart on a match for the prince with the infanta. This was a politic bait thrown out by that wily country, and greedily seized by the king. It was intended as a means of dragging the pusillanimous James into the league with the house of Austria, for oppressing the protestants, and invading the liberties of Germany. It succeeded. The people of England saw their brother protestants abroad hunted down by tyrants; they saw the evangelical league broken and discomfited by the Roman catholic union; themselves made parties to the wrong which they abhorred, and enemies to that holy cause of freedom and of conscience, on which, at home, they had staked all. Discontent rose to a frightful pitch, and the person of the king was even threatened.³ At this moment the tide of affairs was suddenly turned; and the man who had resisted the outcries of

¹ See the various histories. Dr. Lingard has treated the subject very fully. See also some able reasoning on the general question in Bolingbroke's Remarks, pp. 285—303. 8vo edit. Mr. Brodie has stated the demerits of James's conduct with appropriate bitterness. There are also some very important communications relative to this in lord Hardwicke's State Papers; in the second volume of Somers' Tracts, by Scott; and in Howell's Familiar Letters. See Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 76—111; Hacket's Life of Williams; Heylin's Life of Laud; and Saunderson's James I. Mr. D'Israeli's "Secret History of the Spanish Match" is very pleasant and ingenious. See also Roger Coke's "Detection," a very honest book, if we set aside its plagiarisms.

² From a curious volume, entitled "Truth brought to Light," we learn that, in Flanders, they presented in their comedies messengers bringing news that England was ready to send a hundred thousand *ambassadors* to the assistance of the palatinate. "And they pictured the king in one place with a scabbard without a sword; in another place, with a sword that nobody could draw, though divers persons stood pulling at it. In Bruxels they painted him with his pockets hanging out, and never a penny in them; and his purse turned upside down. In Antwerp they pictured the queen of Bohemia like a poor Irish mantler, with her hair hanging about her ears, and her child at her back, with the king, her father, carrying the cradle after her." — *Truth brought to Light*. Introduction.

³ See a curious tract, "Tom Tell Truth," in the second volume of Somers' Collection.

an insulted nation, yielded to the peevish complaints of a haughty and offended minion.

Jealousy of Bristol's negotiations had resolved Buckingham to carry the prince to Spain ; jealousy of the wily archbishop Williams now induced him to wish for home. Moreover, he had been neglected in that stately country, not to say insulted, for his levity and profligate bearing. A deadly jealousy had also risen between him and the Spanish minister, Olivarez ; and he began to feel that, in proportion as the edifice of his power was lofty, it was unstable. He saw an expedient for securing it on a wider and more solid basis, and straightway seized it. He effected a rupture, and hurried the prince home, whither the welcome news of this new policy had travelled before, securing them an enthusiastic welcome. The unaccustomed acclamations wafted a new sense into the all-grasping soul of Buckingham ; and, resolving to try the game of patriotism, he forced the king to summon a parliament. He threw himself into the arms of the (deceived) popular party, and drove the unhappy James from his boasted " king-craft," into a declaration of war against Spain.¹

The parliament assembled, with hopes never before entertained. The dissolution of the Spanish treaty was justly considered a great national deliverance ; and the favourite of James, who had disrobed him of his inglorious mantle of peace, was now the favourite of the nation. At this extraordinary juncture, Eliot took his seat in the house of commons. It has been asserted by Wood² and others, that he sat in the previous parliament ; but this is certainly a mistake. He was returned now for the first time, with Mr. Richard Estcourt, for the borough of Newport, in Cornwall.

And now, from the first moment of his public life,

¹ The keenest dissection, as it appears to me, of the conduct of Buckingham and the prince, throughout the whole of this Spanish affair, will be found in a work very recently published in the present series, — *History of England*, vol. iv., continued from sir James Mackintosh.

² Wood is seldom to be relied on in any date, except those which are furnished by the Oxford books : — lord Nugent has inaccurately adopted his statement that Eliot sat in the parliament of 1621.

his patriotism began, — not from pique, or a spirit of opposition — for as yet he had no opponents, save those of his religion and his country. For be it ever remembered, that, in that day, politics were necessarily and intimately connected with religious doctrine. The Romish cause was the cause of the oppressor, while the protestant was that of the oppressed ; and the English constitutional party saw no chance for good government, save in a root-and-branch opposition to the Roman catholic faith. Their cause of freedom at home was weakened by the success of popish tyranny abroad ; and the great struggle going on between the protestant patriots of Bohemia, and the various Roman catholic powers leagued in extensive confederacy against them, seemed a not improbable shadowing forth of the future destiny of the popular party in England. So thought the leaders of this parliament, — “the greatest and the knowingest auditory,” as a political adversary called them, “that this kingdom, or perhaps the world, afforded¹ ;” and so they acted, confirming that great reputation.

Eliot at once distinguished himself, and was received as a leader of the country party. I have been at some pains to trace his conduct through this parliament, for it has not been mentioned by any historian ; whilst advantage has been taken of the silence, to bear out the assertion of his having been, at this period, a mere undistinguished subserver to the duke of Buckingham. We shall see how far this is just.

The parliament met on the 12th of February, 1623. It was adjourned, however, until the 19th, when the speech was delivered, and the house further adjourned until the 23d. The three following days were occupied in arranging conferences with the lords, respecting the duke's intended “Narrative.” On the 27th, Eliot arose. It was the earliest day of the session, and it was his first appearance in the house. He declared at once the cause he had entered to sustain ; and, putting aside, as subordinate,

¹ Hacket's Life of Williams, p. 172.

even the all-engrossing question of the war, raised his voice for certain ancient privileges of the nation.¹ On the 1st of March, he spoke on the question of the Spanish treaties, in the high strain of popular feeling. He alluded to war, as that "which alone will secure and repair us;" and recommended the setting out of a fleet "by those penalties the papists and recusants have already incurred², — means which would have been especially odious to the court. But Eliot never waited to trim his propositions by the court fashion, even in its popular days, and we never discern in him the bated breath, or the whispering humbleness. On that occasion, also, he seems to have resented the long and vacillating negotiations of the king and his secretaries. "Fitter for us to do than to speak," he said, and most justly said, at that crisis. On the 8th of the same month, he opposed a hasty decision with respect to the king's answer at Theobald's.³ It was not satisfactory, owing to the immediateness of its demand for supplies. He had been appointed one of the deputation; and, alluding to "many strange reports," since their return, he moves "to have some time each to take copies, and then to deliberate and advise."⁴ This he carried. On the 11th, he went up to the lords, on this same subject, with some of the great leaders of the house — Philips, Selden, Coke, Rudyard, Saville, Stroude — to confer with them about his majesty's estate.⁵ This conference elicited an assurance from the treasurer, the following day, of "his majesty's resolution to call parliaments oft, to make good laws, and redress public grievances." From this may be well inferred the nature of the previous day's remonstrance from Eliot and his friends. Nor did this plausible assurance put those faithful men off their guard. They answered the treasurer, "that we had no doubt here yesterday, as among

¹ Commons' Journals, Feb. 27, 1622.

² Journals of that date.

³ See the answer, Partl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 92 edit. 1763.

⁴ Commons' Journals, March 8, 1622.

⁵ Ibid. March 11, 1622.

the lords. We fittest to relieve the king's particular wants, when we have enabled the subjects to do it, by removing their grievances."¹ An explanation of the disputed passages in the answer was subsequently given, such as satisfied the house.

In the same spirit were all Eliot's speeches in the matter of this Spanish war. He never supported it but for the promotion of the popular cause, and always accompanied his approbation of the measure with an avowal of those greater ulterior objects, which he felt it ought to accomplish. I need not go through the numerous minutes of the journals, in which his name appears at this time. His attention to the business of debate, as to the committees, must have been most arduous, since it was unremitting. Besides the great number of private bills, in the management of which his name appears, he took part in all public questions; lent his aid to the best legal reforms; and generally formed one in the more learned committees appointed to consider disputed questions on the privileges of the universities.² He opposed always, with watchful jealousy, any attempt to move from the constitutional usages of the house; and when the ministers proposed, through sir Guy Palmer, to have a committee to draw a bill for the continuance of all bills the next session *in statu quo*, that they might so "husband time," — the name of Eliot was found successfully opposed to this, in connection with his friends, Philips, Coke, and Digges.³ He was unceasing in his exertions against monopolies⁴; and in reminding the house of the petitions — those "stinging petitions," as the king used bitterly to call them — "not to be forgotten against recusants";⁵ but, when duty to the cause permitted it, he never pressed the letter of

¹ Commons' Journals, March 12. 1623.

² Ibid. *passim*. He was also very active in endeavouring to set the grants of crown lands on a better footing. Many instances will be found of his exertions in respect to the universities; as in the case of the Wadham and Magdalen Colleges: and he is often associated with Coke, Philips, and Gyles, in the forwarding of Cornish private bills.

³ Commons' Journals, April 29. 1624.

⁴ Ibid. April 7. 1624.

⁵ Ibid. April 8. 1624.



offence against any offender. Humanity came in rescue of the strictness of his judgments. When some of the popular party pushed hard against the under-sheriff of Cambridge, for a misdemeanor at the election, Eliot humanely interceded. He suggested that the custody the sheriff had already undergone, and the expenses he had been put to, were surely sufficient punishment, and recommended his immediate dismissal. The ever true and able sir Robert Philips seconded the suggestion. In no single respect can the enemies of Eliot taunt him with his conduct in this session; nor will they dare hereafter to use their equally dangerous weapon, the imputation of his silence, to prove that his patriotism was sluggish or inactive, or moving only at the will of others.

After the most anxious search, I can find no allusion from Eliot, respecting Buckingham, which indicates a feeling of any sort. His silence on this head is indeed remarkable, as the lauded name of the duke was then most frequently on the lips of other popular members; and yet, that it did not proceed from any vindictive feeling at an abrupt cessation of intercourse, I think I am enabled to prove. From a minute of the journals of the house, it appears that, on one of the debates respecting the Spanish treaties, some private letters of the duke of Buckingham were referred to, whereupon Eliot stated that he had that morning seen those letters. This is specially entered in the journals.¹ No other member makes the remotest allusion to having seen them. This appears to me to offer a fair presumption that Eliot still continued to meet Buckingham in private intercourse. If this is admitted, then the amiable theory of those writers who have concluded that the letter to the duke, previously quoted, was the last of a series of unanswered applications, and that, from the time of its date, a vindic-

¹ Commons' Journals, April 1, 1624. In no other place do I find the smallest allusion to Buckingham, not even at the close of the Spanish business, when thanks were moved by Eliot to "the prince, the king, and to God," for the result of the deliberations. Commons' Journals, April 24, 1624.

tive feeling had been awakened in the breast of the offended writer,—that Eliot's patriotism, in fact, was altogether a personal pique at Buckingham¹,—has received another blow, prostrate as it was before.

And another, should any one chance to think another necessary, remains to be inflicted. In this parliament a question arose, on which I have discovered the note of a speech by Eliot, which could never have been delivered by him, if his character had not rested clearly free from all imputations of personal dependence or political subserviency. It occurred in a debate “at the close of 1623,” the very period fixed by our modern commentators, from which to date their obstinate accusations. At that period, several committees were sitting on the various courts of justice, to investigate complaints against their mal-administration. Among many petitions presented to the house in consequence of these committees, was one from the wife of a person named Grys, complaining of wrongs she had suffered from the court of chancery, and appealing against the long delays of that court. To this petition sir Edward Coke objected. The lawyer stood in the way of the redresser of grievances. He told the house that the woman was half distracted; that the wrong she complained of occurred in “Egerton’s time;” that he was now gone; and that it was a most unusual thing to complain against the dead. After some discussion, it was at last resolved that the grievance in question, with others, should be argued by counsel before a sub-committee. This sub-committee was then about to be chosen, when sir John Eliot rose. He spoke, as was his custom ever, in concern for the wrongs of the oppressed. He warned the house to be careful in their choice, for he knew of what vast importance it was that the “cries of the vexed subject” should be heard by unbiassed men. He implored them to “have a special care” that its members should “have

¹ Mr. D’Israeli (*passim*); whose suggestions on this subject have been lately adopted by a distinguished writer. See Quarterly Review, No. 24. p. 471.

no dependence upon men in place ; " he suggested that it would be better to have no lawyers upon it ; that it were more just to " have countrymen, that have no dependence."¹ There are few who will disagree with me in thinking, that these are not the words of a follower of Buckingham. That they should have been spoken by one, who laboured under the very odium of what he so earnestly condemned, is, to a monstrous degree, improbable. Not on that occasion, nor on any other, did his opponents in the house dare to hint such a charge. I find the patriotic old lawyer replying to this earnest appeal, with a statement of " great inconveniences in having such a sub-committee," and an entreaty to " have it well considered of :" — but not a word of reproach on the motives of Eliot.

It is necessary that I should now advert to the terms on which Eliot and his friends in this parliament consented to furnish supplies for the Spanish war. On the gross abuse of these supplies, their subsequent bitter opposition was most justly founded.

Their earnest desire to see James's mean subserviency to Spain at once destroyed, never for an instant blinded them to the serious consequence of pressing the people by heavy subsidies. Nine hundred thousand pounds had been demanded. They granted three hundred thousand ; promising more, if, in the right prosecution of the contest, more should become necessary. Over and over again they distinctly stated, that the country was not in a condition to hazard a general war ; and, by many sharp stipulations, they restricted hostilities to one object, specific and defined. They seem, indeed, to have had some reason, before the final arrangement, to suspect the gross duplicity² which had been practised on them by Buckingham, and to have resolved to defend their own policy at all events. They declared, that *their* object, in so earnestly promoting war, was the recovery of the Palatinate, and that alone : that hostilities with Spain,

¹ Commons' Journals, March 17, 1623.

² This will be alluded to shortly.

therefore, were to be entered into, only in so far as that branch of the house of Austria was expected to assist the others in retaining the territory of the elector palatine. Nothing could be more distinct than their stipulations on this point. They were recognised before the death of James. No war with Spain was proclaimed, though correspondence with its court was broken ; and when Mansfield received his commission, with twelve regiments, for the service of the Palatinate, he was required "not to make any invasion, or do any act of war against the country or dominion," of the king of Spain.¹ How far this first condition was preserved, we shall shortly have occasion to see. Another condition there was, proposed by the king himself, that in order to insure the application of the grant to the purposes sought to be attained, it should be paid into the hands of commissioners, appointed by the house, who should expend the money upon that business alone, for which it was granted.² The rupture of peace was no headlong enterprise, plunged into by the parliamentary leaders, without regard to the issue, or the means of its attainment.³

Meanwhile, during these negotiations, no popular grievance was lost sight of. Up to this period, a couplet familiar in the common mouth had embodied the history of parliaments :

" Many faults complained of, few things mended,
A subsidy granted, the parliament ended."

¹ Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 153, 154.

² Hume calls this "unprecedented in an English monarch." (Vol. v. p. 28.) But though the practice had certainly then become unusual, it was common at a former period of English history. See Brodie's Hist. of British Empire, vol. ii. p. 29. That the king proposed this, however, under compulsion by his new tyrant Buckingham, and as a mere trick to deceive the commons, was soon evident. To the astonishment of all, on accepting the subsidies, he used this language :—"I desire you to understand, that I must have a faithful secret council of war, which must not be ordered by a multitude, for so my designs may be discovered before hand. One penny of this money shall not be bestowed but in sight of your committees; but whether I shall send 1,000 or 10,000, whether by sea or by land, east or west, by diversion or otherwise, by invasion upon the Bavarian or the emperor, you must leave that to your king." An ingenious method of rendering the check he had before submitted to for the purpose of procuring a liberal grant, void and effectless.

³ Commons' Journals, and Parl. Hist., *passim*.

With the exception of the subsidy bill of 1621, no bill had been allowed to pass for the space of thirteen years. Legislation was now at last resumed. Measures were passed to reform many grievances in the law, and in prevention of vexatious prosecutions. "Their long counsels, which had been weather-bound, came to a quiet road, and their vessel was lighted of statutes which are of immortal memory."¹ The greatest of all these was that which abolished monopolies for the sale of merchandise, or for using any trade. It was nobly drawn up by Coke, Eliot, Philips, and other members, as a mere declaratory statute, reciting that such monopolies were already contrary to the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm. "It was there supposed," says Hume, "that every subject of England had entire power to dispose of his own actions, provided he did no injury to any of his fellow subjects; and that no prerogative of the king, no power of any magistrate, nothing but the authority alone of laws, could restrain that unlimited freedom."² Following upon this measure, and of an importance no less great, came the impeachment of the lord treasurer Middlesex. For two centuries,—with the single exception of the case of Bacon, too feeble to fix, with any certainty, the precedent,—that grand constitutional right had lain dormant. It was now asserted with eagerness by the commons, and promoted hotly by Buckingham, who had long hated the growing independence of the power of Middlesex, and as his caprice had raised him from obscurity, now turned to hunt him to disgrace. In vain

¹ Hacket's *Scrinia Reservata* (*Life of Williams*), part I, p. 200. He goes on, in his fashion, to say—"The voices all went one way, as a field of wheat is bended that's blown with a gentle gale, one and all;" which proves that quaint old gentleman to have been a reader of Beaumont and Fletcher—

* * * "And the people,
Against their nature, are all bent for him:
And like a field of standing corn, that's moved
With a stiff gale, their heads bow all one way."

Philaster.

² History, vol. v., pp. 98, 99. See also lord Coke, on the subject of this great act, 3 Inst. 181.

the shrewdness of James remonstrated, — “ By God, Stenny, you are a fool, and will shortly repent this folly ; and will find that, in this fit of popularity, you are making a rod with which your own breech will be scourged.” In vain he turned to the prince, and, with a bitterness of prophecy, like that of Bacon to Middlesex (“ Remember that a parliament will come !”), told him that he would live “ to have his belly full of parliamentary impeachments.”¹ The commons were suffered to proceed. They proved the guilt of the lord treasurer² ; and rescued from the disuse of centuries, and beyond the chance of recall, a vital parliamentary right against future ministers of the crown.

James never forgave this. Hacket tells us that, in reference to the matter, “ he was quipt every day with ignominious taunts, that the kind correspondencies between him and the parliament began to have a cloud over them.”³ There were other causes besides this. Further grievances remained to be discussed, and the house had entered upon them with unwearying zeal. The king then gave them to understand, that though they were to apply redress to some known grievances, they were not to go on seeking after more ; and shortly afterwards, in discontent, prorogued them.⁴ He had failed in the object of his concessions. He fancied they would have put him in possession of more money and more power. “ He let fall some flowers of his crown,” says the quaint Hacket, “ that they might gather them up ;

¹ Clarendon, Hist. p. 20.

² See the proceedings in the Parl. Hist. Carte thought him clearly guilty, p. 116. It appears also that Nicholas Ferrar, a most conscientious person, was one of his four ardent accusers. Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. iv. See also Hailam, vol. i. p. 308. Clarendon, Hacket, and others, consider him to have been used as a sacrifice to Buckingham's resentment. Eliot acted on all the committees of this impeachment, with Sandys, Digges, Philips, Wentworth, Pym, &c. See Journals, April 12, 1624, &c. &c.

³ Life of William, part i. pp. 189, 190.

⁴ See Parl. Hist. vol. vi. p. 128. &c. Intimation having then gone abroad, of the new treaty of marriage carrying on at Paris, the commons had sent up what the king called a “ stinging petition” against the papists. See Rushworth, vol. i. p. 140, *et seq.*; also Roger Coke's Detection, vol. i. p. 185. Nothing could exceed the present duplicity of the king and his successor on this subject.

which, indeed, was no more than *deflurium pennarum*, the moulting of some feathers, after which the eagle would fly the better."¹ Much to the astonishment and disgust of the eagle in question, however, measures which had for their object the clipping of his wings, the effectual marring of his royal flights, had appeared to be ripening daily. Under these circumstances, on the 29th of October, 1624, the day to which the parliament had been prorogued, the parliament was finally dissolved.

The death of James, sudden and mysterious, followed close upon this event; and the house of commons was almost instantly challenged to a contest by his ill-advised successor. They had prepared themselves for it by their exertions of the last five and twenty years. They had obtained little, it might be said, in respect of distinct enactments; but they had fenced themselves round with privileges, never to be questioned more, by favourites or by monarchs. "They had rescued from disuse their ancient right of impeachment; they had placed on record a protestation of their claim to debate all matters of public concern; they had remonstrated against the usurped prerogatives of binding the subject by proclamation, and of levying customs at the outposts; they had secured beyond controversy their exclusive privilege of determining contested elections of their members."² Vast rights remained yet to be asserted, oppressive wrongs to be redressed; but an increasing energy in the nation gave new confidence and strength to its representatives; and they assembled at the summons of the new monarch, immediately after his accession, more than ever proudly watchful of privilege, and more than ever sternly resolved on good government. In this parliament, which met at Westminster on the 18th of June, 1625, Eliot was again at his post. He took his seat with a new colleague, Mr.

¹ Life of Williams, vol. i. p. 186.

² Hallam, vol. i. p. 502.

Ralph Specot, for the same borough as before—that of Newport.

It may be well, before we listen to the comments of Mr. D'Israeli, and of others from whom a more liberal consideration was to be expected, as to the severe conduct of this parliament to their young sovereign, to ask whether any reasonable foundation of confidence had been laid between them before their meeting this day? Had any symptoms of a new and better administration appeared in any quarter of the government? Did favouritism, intrigue, or corruption, seem to have abated a jot of their all-governing influence at court? Had oppression and injustice, even for the few little weeks of the new reign, ceased to harass the nation? But for so short a time, had the doctrine and the practice of absolute power and monarchy imprescriptable, been vailed before the presence of the people, as their new inheritor, with admirable hypocrisy, vailed his crown before that people's representatives, on this day of their assembling?¹

The answer which history gives to these questions is a just warrant for the murmurs of distrust which, in his progress to his first parliament, already sounded in the ears of the monarch; which scattered the seeds of disaffection in all directions; and planted bitter thorns in the young crown, as yet scarcely settled on the temples of its wearer.

To the amazement of all, the statement made to James's last parliament by Buckingham, and corroborated by Charles, had been discovered to be one tissue of gross falsehoods. On that statement, it has been seen, the war with Spain was undertaken. We have Clarendon's authority for asserting that they knew it to be untrue.² "But yet," says Rushworth, "the prince

¹ Charles, on the day of this parliament's meeting, wore his crown, vailing it at the opening and the close of his speech, with a solemn and unusual deference.

² Clarendon, Hist. of Rebellion, vol. i. p. 19, folio ed. A reference to the proceedings on the mutual charges of Buckingham and Bristol, in Rushworth's first volume, or in the sixth and seventh volumes of the "Parliamentary History," will supply very satisfactory means of judgment.

not only gave the testimony of his silence to these untruths, but, on its being reported to the house the same day, approved thereof there also."¹ The inevitable discovery of the truth, therefore, by the arrival of Bristol, now completely shattered all the popularity which Charles and Buckingham had acquired in the last reign, from the breach of the Spanish treaties. But it did more. It inflamed displeasure by the shame of imposition; and poisoned at once those fresh springs of public confidence, which a new king has, as it were, a right to claim as his own. Nor was this all. With an almost indecent haste, the king had entered into a marriage with a daughter of Roman catholic France; had consented to certain secret articles in the settlement of the marriage, in favour of her religion; had agreed to a suspension of the penal laws against the catholics; and, as an earnest of his promised indulgences, had already granted to several Romish priests a special pardon, without the formality even of a conviction, of all offences committed by them against the penal laws. In fact, of his own inconsiderate will, he had provoked in the English nation that precise shame of religious subjection, to avoid which they had been anxious to rush into a war with Spain. Nor was this the only religious wrong. Symptoms had shown themselves of an unholy *bellum episcopale* at home. Laud's celebrated schedule of ecclesiastics, branded with the letters O and P, as they happened to be orthodox, or suspected puritan, had already been discussed in the ministerial councils, and had been felt also in portentous signs of that exclusive system of church patronage, the subsequent effects of which were so terrible.²

This parliament, therefore, shaped their determinations accordingly. Their first efforts were directed to

on this and other important points connected with the Spanish business. Nothing, as Mr. Hallam remarks (vol. I. Const. Hist. p. 550), can be more gratuitous, or indeed impossible, than many of Mr. Hume's assertions relating to them.

¹ Bushworth, Hist. Coll. vol. I. p. 76. *et seq.* ed. 1692.

² Ibid. vol. I. pp. 167, 168. See also Laud's Diary.

secure the future safety of the people by an enlargement of the basis of popular representation.¹ On a repetition of the king's demand for supplies, Eliot and his friends went up to him with an address, respectfully and cautiously worded, promising supplies, but claiming the redress of grievances. The intemperate and threatening answer of the king had no effect on the steady purposes of these great men. They voted tonnage and poundage for one year. The house of lords, disdaining to accept it with such a limitation, rashly rejected the bill. Still the commons were not alarmed. They pursued their own course calmly ; granted the king readily, as they had promised, two subsidies ; and were proceeding to votes of inquiry and censure into various wrongs and grievances, when the plague suddenly broke out in London. The major part of the members objected to continue at their post. "While we are now speaking," said one, "the bell is tolling every minute."² An adjournment to Oxford was consequently proposed, and, after a vast deal of squabbling between the king and his two rival ministers, granted. Williams and Buckingham, now coming fast to an open rupture, could not but illustrate the truth of the old saying.³ Just as the house was adjourning to Oxford, however, sir John Eliot, with characteristic spirit, rose and made the following motion, — "An order, that within three days after our next meeting, the house shall then be called, and the censure of the house to pass upon all such as shall then be absent." Ever true and sincere himself,

¹ See Glanville's Reports.

² Rushworth, Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 173.

³ A lively account (though sometimes over ingenious) of this notorious quarrel will be found in Mr. D'Israeli's secret history of the king's first ministers, "Commentaries," vol. i. pp. 249—272. It was a Peache and Lockit affair. "Never trust," says that excellent moralist, Jonathan Wild, "never trust the man who has reason to suspect you know he has injured you." The archbishop and the duke acted with decision on this maxim. While the worthy prelate was intriguing deeply for the duke's impeachment, the no less worthy peer was engaged in a similar plan for the ruin of the bishop. See Brodie's Hist. of Brit. Emp. vol. ii. p. 81. Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 130. Hacket's Scrinia Reservata, part xi. pp. 15, 17, 18. Rushworth, vol. i. In all their disputes, however, I think Williams has the decided advantage; and he must have startled Buckingham not a little when he suddenly whispered in his grace's ear the memorable words,—"No man that is wise will show himself angry with the people of England."

he would consent to no adjournment which had not some chance, in the sincerity of others, of answering the end proposed.¹

In the course of the proceedings before this adjournment, I should mention, that I have observed a circumstance which seems likely to have been the origin of sir Thomas Wentworth's dislike of Eliot. A feeling of bitterness unquestionably existed between them during the greater part of their parliamentary career.² Mr. D'Israeli does not fail to suggest, that Wentworth might have "disdained the violence and turbulence of Eliot³;" and he goes on to state all the malicious motives that have been suggested on both sides by Hacket and his hero. Even Mr. Hallam is betrayed, I think, on this point, into an unworthy admission. "Always jealous," he says, speaking of Wentworth, "of a rival, he contracted a dislike for sir John Eliot, and might suspect that he was likely to be anticipated by that more distinguished patriot in royal favours."⁴ Such a supposition, on Wentworth's part, supposes a possibility of its truth on Eliot's. I believe the dislike to have originated in no such matter; but, on the contrary, in Eliot's keen penetration and unswerving sense of justice. I find that, shortly after this first parliament assembled, a dispute upon the validity of sir Thomas Wentworth's return for the county of York came before the house. Sir John Saville claimed a new election. This was opposed by the court party, who, for reasons best known to themselves and the intriguing archbishop Williams, supported Wentworth.⁵ Eliot, on the other hand, supported the

¹ Commons' Journals, July II.

² One of Hacket's elegant sentences runs thus:—"Sir John Eliot of the west, and sir Thomas Wentworth of the north (the *northern cock*, as he afterwards calls him), both in the prime of their age and wits, both conspicuous for able speakers, clashed so often in the house, and cudgelled one another with such strong contradictions, that it grew from an emulation between them to an enmity." — *Scrinia Reservata*.

³ Commentaries, vol. ii. p. 273.

⁴ Constitutional History, vol. ii. p. 57.

⁵ I shall have occasion to allude to these more specifically in the biography of Stratford. Eliot is never understood to have been in any way connected with Saville, whose character was not of that stamp to command either his public or private sympathy. His keen penetration had already pointed to the future earl of Stratford as a patriot who "rather looked to

claims of Saville; and impressed their justice so forcibly on the popular side of the house, that the election of Wentworth was declared void.¹ From this I date the hatred of the future earl of Strafford towards one whom no court intrigue could influence, whom no friendship could persuade, to desert the great principles of public and of private justice. Wentworth was again returned; thenceforward opposed Eliot whenever he was able; and, when that great statesman had perished in the cause so basely forsaken by himself, he sneered at him as a "fantastic apparition;" and never ceased to spit forth venom to the creature Laud against his memory and glory.

Sir John Eliot, however, was on the eve of illustrating, by a more striking example, this great feature in his character. Though he still held the office of vice-admiral of Devonshire², he felt that the time had at last arrived, which left him no alternative of choice, with reference to the lord high admiral. Up to this period he had sustained, as is all but certain from the proofs I have alleged, a personal intercourse with that nobleman, and was certainly still connected with him in office. His duty now required that this should cease. His youthful companion had long been lost in the pampered minister of kings, his superior in office

be won than cared to be obdurate;" and it is very certain that he looked upon the meaner lord Saville *in futuro* (the period of whose elevation by the by is singularly mis-stated by Hume) with a still more contemptuous scorn. But the present case was simply one of justice. What its precise merits were, I am unable to state; but that Wentworth was capable of resorting to the most unscrupulous and disgraceful expedients in furtherance of his own aims, is evident from what we know of his conduct at a former contest with Saville: I allude to the election for York in 1621. The candidates were Wentworth, Saville, and Calvert, the secretary of state. Wentworth, having secured his own return, zealously laboured to provoke the freeholders against Saville, and, still apprehensive of Calvert's failure, from his knowledge of the extensive influence of his opponent, wrote to the secretary in these words:—"I have heard that when sir Francis Darcy opposed sir Thomas Luke, in a matter of like nature, the lords of the council writ to sir Francis to desist. I know my lord chancellor is very sensible of you in this business: a word to him, and such a letter would make an end of all."—*Strafford's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 10.

¹ Commons' Journal, July 4. The motion of "Mr. Solicitor" for counsel for Wentworth, was defeated by a majority of thirty-nine. Wentworth at a new election was again returned.

² Harl. MSS. 320. Letter of Mead to sir Martin Stuteville, dated Feb. 25.

was beneath him in public honesty. Both were abandoned. Sir John Eliot now saw, in the speedy destruction of Buckingham, the only destruction of that power behind the throne which was greater than the throne itself, and was daily becoming more and more fatal to the people.¹ He had at last concentrated in his own person, and in those of his servile adherents, the most considerable offices of the crown, and in his single existence seemed to be content to involve the question of the privileges of the nation. Eliot, contented also with that issue, buckled himself to the destruction of the minister with terrible earnestness.

It is a striking tribute to the honesty of Eliot that the dishonest men of all parties declared themselves in turn against him. Archbishop Williams, in his abject paper of apology to the king, to disclaim all connection "with any of the stirring men," declared that about this time "sir John Eliot, the only member that began to thrust in a complaint against me, was never out of my lord duke's chamber and bosom."² This, one of the cringing falsehoods of that learned divine, simply proves that Eliot hated sycophancy in every shape, whether popular or aristocratic, and was equally opposed to the duke, and to Williams, the duke's mortal enemy. At the very moment when the lie was so hardly asserted, he had been appointed one of the secret managers to prepare an impeachment against Buckingham.

This charge is yet scarcely so preposterous as one of a similar character, belonging also to this period, gravely brought forward by Mr. D'Israeli. "That sir John Eliot," says that writer, "was well known to the king, and often in the royal circle, appears by sir

¹ "The whole power of the kingdom was grasped by his insatiable hand; while he both engrossed the entire confidence of his master, and held, invested in his single person, the most considerable offices of the crown."—Hume's History, vol. v. p. 137. "Who he will advance, shall be advanced; and who be doth but frown upon, must be thrown down."—Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 28.

² *Scribula Reservata*, part i. This would have been better guessed, as I shall have occasion to show, of Wentworth. Still, it would have been incorrect.

John's complaint in the parliament at Oxford in 1625, of six Romish priests being lately pardoned, which the duke had prevailed upon the king to be done, *in his presence*, at Hampton Court." Whereupon Mr. D'Israeli concludes that "Eliot, like sir Dudley Digges, was in fact a great servant of the duke's."¹ This is an oddly emphatic instance of perverse misrepresentation, or I would scarcely hazard the reproach of tediousness in refuting it. Archdeacon Echard is Mr. D'Israeli's authority.² Roger Coke I discover to have been the only authority for archdeacon Echard. I quote the original passage. "When the parliament met at Oxford" (says Coke, plagiarising a previous statement by Hacket), "the speaker had no sooner taken his chair but a western knight enlarges the sense of his sorrow that he had seen a pardon for six priests bearing test July 12.; whereas but the day before it, when they were to part from Westminster, the lord keeper had promised in the king's name before them all, that the rigour against the priests should not be deluded."³ Oldmixon, quoting this account, makes the western knight sir Robert Philips of Somersetshire, and quotes it correctly enough.⁴ The archdeacon, on the other hand, takes for granted that the western knight must have been sir John Eliot of Cornwall; and, with his usual incorrectness, coupling the passage with a few words that go before it, stating that the king had signed the pardon in the presence and by the influence of Buckingham, tortures it into what Mr. D'Israeli has adopted. And Mr. D'Israeli consummates the series of misrepresentations by supporting upon their authority a charge of sycophancy against Eliot! I have now to state that whatever demerit attaches to the circumstance must be removed from Eliot, and from Philips also; for that the "western knight" who "enlarged the

¹ *Commentaries*, vol. ii. p. 272.

² *Echard's History*, folio ed. p. 402.

³ *Roger Coke's Detection*, vol. i. p. 222. ed. 1694. But see also *Scrinia Reservata*, part i.

⁴ *Oldmixon's History*, p. 78. ed. 1730.

sense of his sorrow" was sir Edward Gyles, one of the Cornish members.¹

Eliot had more stirring game in hand. Scarcely had the parliament reassembled at Oxford when secret intelligence reached him that the loan of ships which had been promised to the king of France, at the close of the late reign, for the purpose of employment against the Spanish interest in Italy and the Valtoline, had been perverted, by the deliberate treachery of Buckingham and his minion the king, to the use of the French catholics against the huguenots of Rochelle.² He saw and seized his opportunity. He hurried down to the house, and implored them to grant no further supplies, for that there were heavy grievances to be considered. Charles having heard this, summoned the houses to meet him at the great hall in Christ Church, to "convince them of the necessity of considering his

¹ Commons' Journals, 1st of August. Brodie gives the name correctly, vol. ii. p. 73. Mrs. Macaulay is also correct, vol. i. p. 176. I was somewhat surprised to find, from the preface to Mons. Guizot's vivid "Histoire de la Révolution d'Angleterre," that the work by that lady was published in France in 1791, with the name of Mirabeau as its author! (Hist. per Guizot, vol. i. Préface, p. xvii.) It is singularly honourable, I may add, to the French nation, that M. Guizot has found encouragement enough to make it worth his while to publish for the use of his countrymen a series of translations of original memoirs of the times of the two great English revolutions (*Collection des Mémoires relatifs à la Révolution d'Angleterre, accompagnée de Notices et d'Eclatements Historiques*), amounting to twenty-eight octavo volumes! Such a collection would be invaluable to the historical inquirer in our own country; but where is the public patronage that would bear out any English bookseller or English man of letters in such an undertaking?

² Lord Nugent discovered, among the earl St. Germain's papers, a copy of the high-minded protest by admiral Pennington, together with the original orders from Buckingham, and from Charles himself, relating to this disgraceful business. These I take to have been forwarded secretly by Pennington to sir John Eliot, in the way of self-vindication. His, as lord Nugent truly observes, was a hard position. He commanded the ship, and led the fleet, of his sovereign. But he had been sent forth, amid the acclamations of his country, to give effect to a gacherous treaty with the oppressed and the besieged. He had no sooner arrived at his destination than he found himself under secret orders to put himself under a foreign command, in a murderous warfare against the English honour and the protestant religion.—See Nugent's Memorials, vol. i. p. 100., and Appendix A. Lord Nugent has omitted to state a singular circumstance in connection with this business, which renders my suggestion still more probable. On the eve of the meeting of the Oxford parliament, Pennington was hastening to lay before that assembly an account of the proceedings, when, to prevent the effect of such a disclosure, he was concealed by the interference of the court till the dissolution, which quickly followed.—See Rushworth, vol. i. p. 176. Brodie, Brit. Emp. vol. ii. p. 72.

business first." Under his direction, his ministers then detailed his wants; and to prevent the effect, so much dreaded, of the disclosure of the affair at Rochelle, secretary Cooke told the commons, with a cool and deliberate hypocrisy, that "the French king chose to sheath his sword in the bowels of his own subjects rather than declare war against the catholics."¹ After the conclusion of this conference, the members of the commons returned to their house, and sir John Eliot rose. He implored them to pause before they yielded up their only irresistible arguments for good government. "It is not usual," he said, "to grant subsidies upon subsidies in one parliament and no grievances redressed." He then boldly stated that the treasury had been misemployed, that evil counsels guided the king's designs, that the necessities of the nation had arisen through improvidence, and that they had need to petition the king for a strait hand and a better counsel to manage his affairs.² Next, he "desired there might an account be given for all the monies given in parliament since the 12th of king James, with some invectives against the commissioners, whom he called the pretending spares of the king's purse; laying to their charge the loss of thousands of men's lives in our late expeditions by land and sea."³ He reserved his heaviest blow for the last, aiming it with a deadly effect against Buckingham. "I desire to know," said Eliot, "whether the money designed for the Palatinate did not maintain the ships sent against Rochelle?"⁴ The commons, inflamed by this address, threw out intelligible hints of impeaching Buckingham. The king, exasperated in the extreme, threatened a dissolution, while he urged once more his necessities. Cold and resolute was the answer of the commons. "Necessity is a dangerous counsellor, and is a continual argument of supplies in all parliaments. Those

¹ Rushworth, Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 178.

² See Oldmixon's History, p. 79. See also Rushworth, vol. i. p. 180. Harleian MSS. 290. Letter of Mead to Stuteville.

³ See Oldmixon, p. 79; and Rushworth, vol. i. p. 180.

who have put the king and kingdom into such a necessity and hazard ought to answer for it, whosoever they be."¹ This ominous allusion more nearly alarmed the king, and an abrupt dissolution followed. Parliament was dismissed on the 12th of August.²

It was speedily re-summoned; but disgraceful scenes had intervened. The king, under the advice of Buckingham, had openly dispensed with the laws. Letters had been issued by order of council, under the privy seal, forcing loans from private persons³, generally those who were connected with the popular party, for the mad purpose of carrying on the Spanish war; and the Spanish war *was* carried on, up to the disastrous, ill-concerted, and most wretchedly conducted, expedition to Cadiz. Parliament could then be warded off no longer, hated as was even its name. Buckingham, with an ominous foreboding of the future, strove to disqualify the leading men, by getting them pricked as sheriffs of their respective counties. Eliot, it is said, was the chief object of his anxiety on this head⁴; but, in Eliot's case, he found it impracticable. I think it probable, however, that the duke prevented his election for Newport. Here was only a means of greater

¹ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 190.

² Mr. Hume, in one of the early passages of his history (which remains unequalled for its beauty of style and philosophical remark, though it is utterly worthless as a book of authority), describes this parliament with a strange mixture of truth and error. "It was necessary to fix a choice: either to abandon entirely the privileges of the people, or to secure them by firmer and more precise barriers than the constitution had hitherto provided for them. In this dilemma men of such aspiring genius, and such independent fortunes, could not long deliberate; they boldly embraced the side of freedom, and resolved to grant no supplies to their necessitous prince, without extorting concessions in favour of civil liberty. The end, they esteemed beneficial and noble; the means, regular and constitutional. To grant or refuse supplies was the undoubted privilege of the commons." See the whole passage, vol. v. p. 138. quarto edit. 1761. See also Clarendon, vol. i. p. 6, folio edit.

³ Lord Nugent found one of these requisitions in the MS. collection at Stowe. It is addressed to sir William Andrews, of Lathbury in Buckinghamshire, then a tenant of John Hampden's, and afterwards one of the deputy lieutenants for that county under the parliament. It appears that for these contributions, exacted with the utmost severity and injustice, collectors were appointed, whose acquittance should be a sufficient warrant for repayment in eighteen months. "Put not your faith in princes!" sir William Andrews' acquittance, remains appended to the requisition.

⁴ Echard's History, p. 425. D'Israeli's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 228.

triumph. He presented himself to his native county of Cornwall, and was instantly returned by the electors.¹ It was an age when the middle and lower ranks of the people shared a common enthusiasm, and were inaccessible alike to fear or to favour. It is striking, and even affecting, to mark the quiet calmness with which Eliot now sought to provide, that the risk and danger, to which he knew his conduct in the coming parliament must expose himself, might not fall heavily on his children. He assigned over every portion of his most extensive estates in trust to relatives for the benefit of his family.² Having done this, he repaired to his place in the house of commons, resolved, at whatever hazard, to strike down the great traitor who had imperilled the liberty and the property of the kingdom.

At Westminster, on the 6th of February, 1626, this "great, warm, and ruffling³" parliament assembled. Eliot had scarcely taken his seat, before his vehement eloquence, overflowing with embittered invective, was heard thundering against the doomed minister. In his style of oratory, a singular power of severity and keenness united itself with the clearest facility of detail, was adorned with the most pleasing classical allusion, and was directed against its object with such warmth and earnestness of passion as it is always most difficult to resist. The case of the chaplain Montagu⁴ was abandoned for the higher quarry : searching committees were appointed, and the defeats and disgraces of the nation were traced home to Buckingham. The rage of the king exceeded all bounds ; and, under its influence, he sent an insolent message to the house. "I must let you know, that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you, much less such as are of eminent place, and near unto me. * * I see you es-

¹ Parliamentary History, and Commons' Journals.

² Harleian MSS. No. 7000. Letter of Pory to Fowke. See also D'Israeli's Commentaries, vol. iv. p. 510. I shall have to advert to this hereafter.

³ Whitlocke's Memorials of the English Affairs, p. 7. edit. 1692.

⁴ I shall have occasion to allude to this case in the biography of Pym.

pecially aim at the duke of Buckingham. * * I would you would hasten for my supply, or else it will be worse for yourselves ; for if any evil happen, I think I shall be the last that shall feel it." ¹ Eliot smiled at this impotent rage. " We have had a representation of great fear," he said ; " but I hope that shall not darken our understandings. Our wills and affections were never more clear," he continued, " more ready, as to his majesty ; but we are balked and checked in our forwardness by those the king entrusts with the affairs of the kingdom." Again he inflamed the house by comments on the Spanish expedition. " The last action was the king's first action ; and in this the king and kingdom have suffered dishonour. We are weakened in our strength and safety ; our men and ships are lost." Then followed a bitter taunt against even the personal courage of Buckingham, who, it will be recollectcd, had left the command of the expedition to sir Edward Cecil. " The great general had the whole command, both by sea and land ; and could the great general think it sufficient to put in his deputy and stay at home ? " The orator next, taking advantage of the excitement of his hearers, thundered forth questions of a more fatal meaning. " Are not honours now sold, and made despicable ? Are not judicial places sold ? And do not they then sell justice again ? *Vendere jure potest — emerat ille prius.*" After some well-employed classical allusions, Eliot proceeded thus : — " I shall, to our present case, cite two precedents. The first was in the eleventh year of Henry III. The treasure was then much exhausted ; many disorders complained of ; the king wronged by ministers. Many subsidies were demanded in parliament, but they were denied ; and the lords and commons joined to desire the king to reassume lands which had been improvidently granted, and to examine his great officers, and the causes of those evils which the people then suffered. This was yielded unto by the king ; and Hugh de Burgo was found faulty, and was

¹ Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 3.

displaced ; and then the commons, in the same parliament, gave supply. The second precedent was in the tenth year of Richard II. Then the times were such, and places so changeable, that any great officer could hardly sit to be warmed in his place. Supply was at that parliament required : the commons denied supply, and complained that their monies were misemployed ; that the earl of Suffolk (Michael de la Pole) then overruled all ; and so their answer was, '*they could not give*' ; and they petitioned the king that a commission might be granted, and the earl of Suffolk might be examined. A commission," Eliot continued, reserving himself for a closing sarcasm at Buckingham, "at their request was awarded ; and that commission recites all the evil then complained of ; and that the king, upon the petition of the lords and commons, had granted that examination should be taken of the crown lands which were sold, of the ordering of his household, and the disposition of the jewels of his grandfather and father. *I hear nothing said in this house of our jewels, nor will I speak of them ; but I could wish they were within these walls !*"¹ The effect of this speech was complete, and in the midst of the general indignation excited, Dr. Turner's resolutions, that "common fame" was a good ground of accusation against Buckingham, were passed ; and notice was sent to the duke of the proceedings against him. At the same time, in illustration of the good faith with which they acted, they announced that the king's immediate necessities should be relieved while his minister was brought to trial ; and they redeemed this pledge by a vote for the grant of three subsidies and three fifteenths.² The king now felt more strongly than ever the imminent danger of his favourite. Again

¹ Buckingham had raised money upon the crown jewels and plate, by the king's order, at the Hague. Strafford. State Papers, vol. i. p. 28. Ingram to Wentworth. Owing to a singular omission of the editors of the last great parliamentary history, we look vainly among the debates they have collected for this very remarkable speech. It is in Rushworth, however (vol. i. p. 220.), and in the Old Parliamentary History, vol. vi. p. 441. edit. 1763.

² Rushworth's Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 221. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 3.

he interfered, and again his interference was defeated by the boldness of Eliot. "Remember," he said, "that parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting, and dissolution; therefore as I find the fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue or not to be."¹ The commons retired to deliberate this with locked doors, and the key placed in the hands of the speaker. What passed in that memorable sitting did not publicly transpire; but I can supply some portion of it at least from a manuscript letter of the time. "Sir John Eliot rose up and made a resolute (I doubt whether a timely)² speech, the sum whereof was, that they came not thither either to do what the king should command them, or to abstain where he forbade them; and therefore they should continue constant to maintain their privileges, and not do either more or less for what had been said unto them."³ This ominous meeting with locked doors alarmed the king; negotiations were opened, explanations offered, every possible resource of avoidance attempted, but in vain. It was too late to dispute the right of impeachment after the precedents of Bacon and Middlesex; and the commons, after addressing the king in decorous language, impeached Buckingham on twelve articles.⁴

Eight chief managers were appointed. To Pym,

¹ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 225. Whitlocke, p. 4.

² Here the timid writer alludes to what was frequently urged against Eliot, the severe and unsparing character of his speeches. Clarendon was accustomed to the house of commons, and speaks differently. "Modesty and moderation in words," says that noble writer, "never was nor ever will be observed in popular councils, whose foundation is liberty of speech."

—*Hist. of the Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 7. folio edit.

³ Harleian MSS. Letter of Mead to sir Martin Stuteville, dated April 8. In a subsequent letter of the same correspondent in this collection (dated April 28.), I find the first shadowing forth of the iniquitous dispersion of sir Robert Cotton's library—an event which that learned antiquary was unable to survive. "Sir Robert Cotton's books are threatened to be taken away, because he is accused to impart ancient precedents to the lower house."

⁴ The duke's obsequious and fawning answer had simply the effect of adding another charge to the impeachment. I must refer the reader to the various histories for an ample exposure of the disgraceful practices resorted to by the king to rescue his favourite from the powerful opposition of the earls Bristol and Arundel in the upper house. Brodie's *Hist. of the British Empire*, vol. ii. p. 105. *et seq.* Lingard's *History*, vol. ix. p. 345. *et seq.* The History, from sir James Mackintosh, in Lardner's *Cyclopaedia*, vol. v. pp. 37—46.

Herbert, Selden, Glanville, Sherland, and Wandesford, was entrusted the duty of dilating upon the facts of the impeachment; to sir Dudley Digges the task of opening the proceedings in a "prologue" was committed; and for sir John Eliot the arduous duty was reserved of winding up the whole proceedings by one of his impressive perorations, that should serve as an "epilogue" to this mighty drama. They did not over estimate the value of his eloquence.¹

The speech delivered by him on this great occasion is an important chapter in his history. Sir Dudley Digges, a courtly patriot, had spoken the "prologue" in the highest prevailing style of ornate circumlocution and quaintly elevated metaphor. Professing to deliver himself in "plain country language, setting by all rhetorical affectations," the monarchy he compared to the creation, the commons to the earth, the lords to the planets, the king to the glorious sun, the clergy to the fire, the judges and magistrates to the air, and the duke of Buckingham to a comet, "a prodigious comet." All this was only a striking foil to the nervous and daring invective, the clear and gorgeous declamation, of Eliot. The proud minister, who had kept his seat during the harangue of Digges, insolently braving his accuser, and jeering his quaint expressions, was observed to leave the house when Eliot, on the following day, arose.² It was well for himself that he had done so. Never was an attack made, in that or any succeeding time, so eloquent,

¹ For the history of this impeachment, and reports of the various speeches, see Rushworth, vol. i. p. 302 *et seq.*; Parliamentary History, vols. vi. and vii.; History from Mackintosh, vol. v. p. 56. *et seq.* The thirteen articles of the impeachment were arranged under the following heads:—Plurality of offices; buying the place of high admiral; buying the wardenship of the cinque ports; not guarding the narrow seas; unlawfully and corruptly staying a French ship; extorting 10,000*l.* from the East India merchants; putting English ships in the hands of the French, to be employed against the protestants of Rochele (this embraced two articles); compelling lord Roberts to buy his peerage; selling places of judicature; procuring honours for his poor kindred; malversation of the king's revenue; giving physic to the late king.

² The duke's absence is marked by a letter in the Harl. MSS. 383. See also Rushworth. In Ellis's Original Letters, vol. iii. p. 298. (second edit.), an account will be found of the duke's "jeering and sneering insolence," and the spirited rebuke it at last provoked.

so bitter, so earnest, so disdainful. The orator excelled himself. He had summoned to his service all his literary accomplishments, and he closely environed his argument with a passion that was absolutely terrible.

He began by describing the ambition of "this man," as he disdainfully termed the duke, impeaching it by "the common sense of the miseries and misfortunes which the people suffer," and protesting in eloquent phrase against those high misdemeanors which "have lost us the regality of our narrow seas, the ancient inheritance of our princes." He then exposed, as "full of collusion and deceit," the "inward character" of the mind of Buckingham. "I can express it," said Eliot bitterly, "no better than by the beast called by the ancients *stellionatus*; a beast so blurred, so spotted, so full of foul lines, that they knew not what to make of it."

He next presented to their lordships "the duke's high oppression" in all its strange extent, "not to men alone, but to laws and statutes, to acts of council, to pleas and decrees of court, to the pleasure of his majesty." The orator afterwards, having indulged some quiet sarcasms at Buckingham, his victims, and his extortions, "mathematically observed and exquisitely expressed,"—advanced to the most serious imputations, which he handled with a fearful severity. "That which was wont to be the crown of virtue and merit is now become a merchandise for the greatness of this man, and even justice is made his prey! The most deserving offices, that require abilities to discharge them, are fixed upon the duke, his allies, and kindred. He hath drawn to him and his, the power of justice, the power of honour, and the power of command,—in effect, the whole power of the kingdom, both for peace and war!" Eliot then painted a mournful picture of the result of the favourite's extortions in the present state of the kingdom, the "revenues destroyed, the fountain of supply exhausted, the nerves of the land relaxed," placing beside it, in vivid and indignant contrast, the gorgeousness of Buckingham's possessions. "He intercepts, consumes, and ex-

hausts the revenues of the crown, not only to satisfy his own lustful desires, but the luxury of others ; and, by emptying the veins the blood should run in, he hath cast the body of the kingdom into a high consumption. Infinite sums of money, and mass of land exceeding the value of money, nay, even contributions in parliament, have been heaped upon him ; and how have they been employed ? Upon costly furniture, sumptuous feasting, and magnificent building, *the visible evidences of the express exhausting of the state !* And yet his ambition," proceeded Eliot, alluding darkly to more dreadful charges, " which is boundless, resteth not here, but, like a violent flame, bursteth forth, and getteth further scope. Not satisfied with injuries and injustice, and dishonouring of religion, his attempts go higher,—to the prejudice of his sovereign. *The effects I fear to speak, and fear to think.*¹ I end this passage, as Cicero did in a like case,—*ne gravioribus utar verbis quam rei natura fert, aut levioribus quam causæ necessitas postulat.*"

The closing passage of Eliot's speech was tremendous, and must have electrified the house.

" Your lordships have an idea of the man, what he is in himself, what in his affections ! You have seen his power, and some, I fear, have felt it ! You have known his practice ; and have heard the effects. It rests then to be considered what, being such, he is in reference to the king and state—how compatible or incompatible with either ? In reference to the king, he must be styled the canker in his treasure ; in reference to the state, the moth of all goodness. What future hopes are to be expected, your lordships may draw out of his actions and affections. In all precedents I can hardly find him a match or parallel. None so like him as Sejanus, thus described by Tacitus :—*Audax sui obtegens, in alias criminatur, juxta adulator et superbus.* My lords, for his pride and flattery it was noted of Sejanus that he did

¹ We feel with Eliot on this point. The reader is referred to a forcible passage in Mr. Brodie's History of the British Empire, vol. ii. pp. 43, 44. I have satisfied myself respecting Mr. Brodie's proof, by referring to the MS. in the Ayscough Collection of the British Museum, No. 4291. p. 206.

clientes suos provinciis adornare. Doth not this man the like? Ask England, Scotland, and Ireland, and they will tell you! Sejanus's pride was so excessive, Tacitus saith, that he neglected all counsel, mixed his business and service with the prince, seemed to confound their actions, and was often styled *imperatoris laborum socius*. How lately, and how often, hath this man commixed his actions, in discourse, with actions of the king! My lords, I have done. You SEE THE MAN! By him came all these evils; in him we find the cause; on him we expect the remedies; and to this we met your lordships in conference."

The rage of the king, when told of Eliot's speech, betrayed him. In a manuscript letter of the time the writer alludes to the unseemly anger displayed as "private news which I desire you to keep to yourself as your own, by separating this half sheet, and burning it or concealing it." The allusion to the death of his father, and to Sejanus, had strangely affected Charles. "Implicitly," he exclaimed, "he must intend me for Tiberius!"¹—and he hurried to the house of lords to complain of sir John Eliot. Then began those cruel persecutions which Eliot had foreseen, and prepared himself for, and which were only exhausted at last in the death of their illustrious object. He was that day committed close prisoner to the Tower; and, by an odd kind of chance, which may be worth noting for some of my readers, was flung into the dungeon which, after a few short months, received Felton, Buckingham's assassin.²

¹ Harleian MSS. 383. Letter of Mead, dated May 11. The writer subsequently says that sir Robert Cotton had told him that the king's affection towards the duke "was very admirable — no whit lessened." When Charles indeed came in his barge from Whitehall to order Eliot to the Tower, Buckingham sat by his side! MS. letter to Mead.

² "As Felton the last weeke passed through Kingston-upon-Thames, an old woman bestowed this salutation upon him: 'Now God blesse thee, little David,' quoth she; meaning he had killed Goliah. He hath hitherto (saith my author) been fairly used in the Tower, being put into the same lodging where sir John Eliot lay, and allowed two dishes of meat every meal." Harleian MSS. 390. Felton was a miserable enthusiast, who revenged upon Buckingham only a private wrong. But his name deserves honour for the memory of one striking incident at the close of his unhappy life. I quote it from Ellis's Original Letters, vol. iii. p. 257, second edit.:—"Another friend told me that on Tuesday morning, some of the lords being with him, my lord of Dorset told him, 'Mr. Felton, it is the king's

Digges was also committed. The house of commons, on hearing of this gross breach of privilege (the first of that series of open and undisguised outrages which brought Charles to the scaffold), broke up instantly, notwithstanding a very heavy press of business before them ; and, after dinner, many members met in Westminster Hall, "sadly communicating their minds to one another."¹ The following morning they met in the house ; but when the speaker reminded them of the business of the day,—“Sit down ! sit down !” was the general cry : no business till we are righted in our liberties !² A sullen silence succeeded, which was broken by the memorable expostulation of sir Dudley Carleton, the king's vice-chamberlain. Unadvisedly he let the court secret out ! After complaining of the violent and contemptuous expressions resorted to by Eliot and Digges, he blurted forth as follows :—“I beseech you, gentlemen, move not his majesty with trenching on his prerogative, lest you bring him out of love with parliaments. In his messages he hath told you, that if there were not correspondency between him and you, he should be enforced to use *new counsels*. Now, I pray you to consider what these new counsels are, and may be. I fear to declare those that I conceive. In all Christian kingdoms you know that parliaments were in use anciently, until the monarchs began to know their own strength, and, seeing the tur-

pleasure you should be put to torture, to make you confess your complices ; and therefore prepare yourself for the rack.” To whom Felton : “I do not believe my lord, that it is the king's pleasure : for he is a just and a gracious prince, and will not have his subjects to be tortured against law. I do again affirm, upon my salvation, that my purpose was known to no man living ; and more than I have said before I cannot. But if it be his majesty's pleasure, I am ready to suffer whatever his majesty will have inflicted upon me. Yet this I must tell you by the way, that if I be put upon the rack I will accuse you, my lord of Dorset, and none but yourself.” So they left him there without bringing him to the rack.” The letter writer might have gone farther, for this was not all. To excuse themselves from the possible supposition that they could have been influenced in this case by terror, the judges were ordered to deliver a decision that “no such punishment as the rack is known or allowed by our law.” We owe this to Felton.

¹ Harleian MSS. 383. Letter to Mead, dated May 12.

² Ibid. See also Rushworth, vol. i. p. 338, and Parliamentary History, vol. vii. p. 159, for other accounts of this scene.

bulent spirit of their parliaments, at length they, by little and little, began to stand upon their prerogatives, and at last overthrew the parliaments throughout Christendom, except here only with us. And, indeed, you would count it a great misery, if you knew the subjects in foreign countries as well as myself, to see them look not like our nation, with store of flesh on their backs, but like so many ghosts, and not men, being nothing but skin and bones, with some thin cover to their nakedness, and wearing only wooden shoes on their feet; so that they cannot eat meat, or wear good clothes, but they must pay and be taxed unto the king for it. This is a misery beyond expression, and that which yet we are free from.¹ Poor sir Dudley had scarcely delivered himself of this when his ears were saluted with loud and unwelcome shouts — “To the bar! to the bar!” He narrowly escaped the necessity of apologising at the bar on his knees.

Ultimately Digges, coy patriot, having consented to retract certain expressions complained of, was released. Eliot, on the other hand, coldly and sternly refused to listen to any proposals; and the king, unable to keep up the struggle, was obliged, after the expiration of eight days, to sign a warrant for his release. On his re-appearance in the house, the vice-chamberlain, by his master’s command, repeated the charge of intemperate language; upon which sir John, instead of denying anything he had said, or meanly endeavouring to explain away the harshness of the terms he had made use of, in a remarkably eloquent and sarcastic speech avowed and defended every name he had applied to Buckingham.² The spirit of this great man communi-

¹ Whitelocke’s Memorials, p. 6. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 359. Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 159.

² Hatsell’s Precedents. For a report of sir John’s speech, see Rushworth, vol. i. p. 362; and Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 165. The latter is more full and correct. I quote a striking passage: — “For the words, *the man*, he said, *he spoke not by the book*, but suddenly. For brevity’s sake he used the words, *The man*. He thought it not fit at all times to reiterate his titles; and yet thinketh him not to be a god.” In conclusion, Eliot touched with a modest and manly forbearance on the old charge against him — “For the manner of his speech, as having too much vigour and strength

cated itself to the house ; and, by a unanimous vote, refusing even to order him to withdraw¹, they cleared him from every imputation.

Charles, nothing taught by this egregious failure, continued to play the minion to Buckingham, who had now resolved, by another dissolution, to throw for his only chance of safety. This was, indeed, a desperate step, and so Charles would seem to have considered it ; but his fears, his consciousness of the injuries he was committing on his subjects, every thing sank before the influence of the favourite. “ The duke being in the audience chamber, private with the king, his majesty was overheard (as they talk) to use these words : ‘ What can I do more ? ’ I have engaged mine honour to mine uncle of Denmark, and other princes. I have, in a manner, lost the love of my subjects. What wouldest thou have me do ? ’ Whence some think the duke moved the king to dissolve the parliament.”² Or, it may have been, the duke moved the king to get himself promoted to the chancellorship of Cambridge. Monstrous as it appears, a royal message was sent forthwith to the convocation, on the present occurrence of the vacancy, ordering them to elect the duke ! Vain was every entreaty to postpone the election ; at least until after the event of the impeachment were known. It was carried³,

he said he could not excuse his natural defects ; but he then endeavoured, and ever did in that house, to avoid passion ; and only desired to do his duty.”

¹ The entry in the Journals is remarkable : “ Sir John Eliot of himself withdrew ; the house refusing to order his withdrawing.”

² A letter in the Harleian MSS. Mead to Stuteville, dated May 13.

³ By means the most disgraceful, which after all only secured Buckingham's a majority of three votes over lord Andover, hastily set up by the commons. In Ellis's Original Letters, vol. iii p. 231., we have a curious account of the contest. “ My lord bishop labours ; Mr. Mason visits for his lord, Mr. Cozens for the most true patron of the clergy and of scholars. Masters behaviour their fellows. Dr. Maw sends for his, one by one, to persuade them ; some twice over. . . . Divers in town got hackneys, and fled to avoid importunity. Very many — some whole colleges — were gotten by their fearful masters, the bishop, and others, to suspend, who otherwise were resolved against the duke, and kept away with much indignation : and yet for all this stirre the duke carried it but by three votes from my lord Andover, whom we voluntarily set up against him, without motion on his behalf, yea, without his knowledge. . . . We had but one doctor in the whole towne durst (for so I dare speak) give with us against the duke ; and that was Dr. Porter of Queen's.”

and received the formal and elaborate approval of the king. The commons, then, after a stormy debate, in which Eliot took his usual warm and vigorous part¹, sent to crave audience of his majesty "about serious business concerning all the commons of the land." The king returned answer, that they should hear from him the next day. They did hear from him: the next day they were dissolved²; and the rash monarch proceeded to try the effect of those "new counsels" which he and his servants had so often threatened.

These "new counsels" appeared in the shape of a naked despotism. Every thing short of the absolute surrender of the subject to the muskets of the soldiery was resorted to; and we learn, from a remarkable passage in Hume's history, good reason why the new counsels fell short of that. "Had he possessed any military force," says the philosophical apologist of Charles, "on which he could depend, 'tis not improbable that he had, at once, *taken off the mask*, and governed without any regard to parliamentary privileges. * * * But his army was new levied, ill paid, and worse disciplined; nowise superior to the militia, who were much more numerous, and who were, in a great measure, under the influence of the country gentlemen."³ As it was, the mask was very clumsily kept on. The first thing attempted under it was to cover, by a bungling imposition, an outrageous stretch of power. The people were instructed by the agents of government that, as

¹ It was he who proposed, and had the chief hand in framing, the celebrated remonstrance (Rushworth, vol. i. p. 400.) which every member of the house held in his possession on the day of the dissolution of this parliament. A proclamation was subsequently issued against it by the king. See Rushworth, vol. i. p. 411.

² See also Sanderson's account in his Life of Charles, p. 58.; and Rushworth, vol. i. p. 398.

³ History, vol. v. p. 151. Clarendon's account may be subjoined to this:—"Upon every dissolution, such as had given any offence were imprisoned, or disgraced; new projects were every day set on foot for money, which served only to offend and incense the people, and brought little supplies to the king's occasions; yet raised a great stock for exultation, murmur, and complaint, to be exposed when other supplies should be required. And many persons of the best quality and condition under the peerage were committed to several prisons, with circumstances unusual and unheard of, for refusing to pay money required by these extraordinary ways." — Hist. of Rebellion, vol. i. p. 22.

subsidies had been voted in the last house of commons, they could not legally refuse to pay them, though parliament had been dissolved before the bill embodying them had passed ; and they were levied accordingly ! A commission to improve the revenues of crown lands went forth next on a mission of the grossest tyranny ; and, following this, a commission to force the most enormous penalties against religious recusants. Privy seals for the loan of money were at the same time issued, in all directions, to men of reputed property, and an immediate advance of an hundred and twenty thousand pounds was insolently demanded from the city of London. Lastly, a levy of ships was ordered from the port towns and counties adjoining — a forecast of the memorable tax of ship money.¹ As men grieved and wondered at these things, the news arrived of the defeat of the king of Denmark at the bloody battle of Luttern ; and Charles seized the advantages of this disaster to his ally, to execute a measure he had long meditated, and of which all these oppressions we have named were but even the feeble foreshadowing. He sent commissioners into every quarter of the kingdom, with the most frightfully inquisitorial powers, to execute a GENERAL FORCED LOAN.² He issued an

¹ Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 411—472. Rymer, xviii. pp. 730—842. White-locke, pp. 7—9. In these authorities ample information will be found. See also Parl. Hist. vol. vii. pp. 329—338. In connection with these accounts it may be amusing to quote an anecdote from the office book of the master of the revels, " here entered," as he observes, " for ever, to be remembered by my son, and those who cast their eyes on it, in honour of king Charles my master." The king, reading a manuscript play of Massinger's, had stumbled on the following : —

" Monies ! we'll raise supplies what ways we please,
And force you to subscribe to blanks, in which
We'll mulct you as we shall think fit. The Caesars
In Rome were wise, acknowledging no laws
But what their swords did ratify : —"

and, in the disgust of the moment, wrote a halting line against it :

" This is too insolent, and to be changed ! "

Truly, nothing should be so disgusting to us, as a hideous likeness of ourselves !

² It is worth while giving an extract from the private instructions of these commissioners. They were " to treat apart with every one of those who are to lend, and not in the presence, or hearing, of any other, unless they see cause to the contrary ; and, if any shall refuse to lend, and shall

elaborate proclamation at the same time, excusing these new counsels by the exigence of the moment; and, in private instructions to the clergy, ordered them to use the pulpit in advancement of his monstrous projects.¹ Reverend doctors, with an obedient start, straightway preached illimitable obedience, on pain of eternal damnation.² Imprisonment of various sorts compensated for the inefficacy of religious anathemas. The poor who could not, or would not, pay were pressed into the army or the navy; substantial tradesmen were dragged from their families; men of rank even were ordered into the palatinate³; large batches of country gen-

make delay, or excuses, and persist in their obstinacy, that they examine such persons upon oath, whether they have been dealt withal to deny, or refuse to lend, or make an excuse for not lending; — who hath dealt so with them, or what speeches or persuasions he or they have used to him, tending to that purpose? And that they shall also charge every such person in his majesty's name, upon his allegiance, not to declare to any other what his answer was." — *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 419.

¹ Laud, now bishop of Bath and Wells, drew these instructions up in the name of the king. (See Heylin's *Life*, p. 161. *et seq.*; and Laud's *Diary*.) "The dextrous performance of which service," says Heylin, "as it raised Laud higher in his majesty's good opinion of him, so it was recompensed with a place of greater nearness to him than before he had."

² Sibthorp, vicar of Brackley, in Northamptonshire, and Manwaring, a king's chaplain and vicar of St. Giles's, made themselves most notorious in this slavish and criminal service. Extracts from the sermons of these men, of the most atrocious description, will be found in Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 422, 423. They had excellent imitators. I find among the Sloane MSS. a letter descriptive of a sermon preached by the dean of Canterbury, from which the reader may take an extract:—"It was the speech of a man renowned for wisdom in our age, that if he was commanded to put forth to sea in a ship that had neither mast nor tackling he woul'd do it. And being asked what wisdom that were, replied, the wisdom must be in him that hath power to command, not in him that conscience binds to obey." The question of the licensing these sermons for publication led to the suspension of Abbot from the see of Canterbury. Abbot, however, was no better than his brother Laud, probably a little worse, since the conduct of the former was at least intelligible. See History, from Mackintosh, vol. v. p. 70. The archbishop's Narrative in Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 454—457. Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, art. Northampton, note by Park. Hallam's Const. Hist. vol. i. p. 570. *note*.

³ There is something so extremely natural and forcible in sir Peter Hayman's sturdy account of his experience in this particular, that I cannot forbear quoting it. After parliament had assembled, a debate arose on "Designation to Foreign Employment," whereupon sir Peter Hayman got upon his legs: "I have not forgot my employment into the palatinate. I was called before the lords of the council, for what I knew not, but I heard it was for not lending on a privy seal. I told them, if they will take my estate, let them; I would give it up; lend I would not. When I was before the lords of the council, they laid to my charge my unwillingness to serve the king. I said, I had my life and my estate to serve my country and my religion. They told me, that if I did not pay I should be put upon

tlemen were lodged in custody¹; and as a punishment to some, more aggravated and horrible, probably, than any we have named, the remains of the disgraced and infamous troops that had survived the affair at Cadiz were quartered upon their houses, in the midst of their wives and children!² And as these crimes had been sanctioned by the ministers of religion, so the vile slaves who sat in the seats of justice were ordered to confirm them by law. A voice or two that had hinted from the bench a feeble utterance of opposition were instantly stifled, and the conclave of judges remanded

an employment of service. I was willing. After ten weeks waiting, they told me I was to go with a lord into the palatinate, and that I should have employment there, and means befitting. I told them I was a subject, and desired means. Some put on very eagerly, some dealt nobly. They said, I must go on my own purse. I told them *nemo militat satis expensis*. Some told me, I *must* go. I began to think, what, *must* I? None were ever sent out in that way. Lawyers told me I *could not* be so sent. Having this assurance I demanded means, and was resolved not to stir but upon those terms; and, in silence and duty, I denied. Upon this, having given me a command to go, after twelve days they told me they would not send me as a soldier, but to attend on an ambassador. I knew that stone would hit me, therefore I settled my troubled estate, and addressed myself to that service." Eliot's comments on this usage were appropriately bitter. *Part. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 403.

¹ Some were brought up to London, and committed to rigorous confinement in the Fleet, the Gatehouse, the Marshalsea, and the New Prison. Eliot was one of these. The rest, as sir Thomas Wentworth and others, were subjected to confinement, strict, but much less rigorous, in various counties. Hampden had been thrown into the Gatehouse at first, but was afterwards released and sent into Hampshire. One anecdote will illustrate the numberless instances of quiet and forbearing fortitude, practised by men recollect no longer, but who at this time shed lustre on the English character. George Catesby, of Northamptonshire, being committed to the Gatehouse as a recusant, alleged, among other reasons for his non-compliance, that he considered "that this loan might become a precedent; and that every precedent, he was told by the lord president, was a flower of the prerogative." The lord president told him that "he lied!" Catesby merely shook his head, observing, "I come not here to contend with your lordship, but to suffer." Lord Suffolk then interposed to entreat the lord president not too far to urge his kinsman, Mr. Catesby. The latter, however, waived any kindness he might owe to kindred, declaring that "he would remain master of his own purse." *D'Israeli's Commentaries*, vol. ii. p. 9.

² See a letter in Strafford's State Papers, vol. i. p. 40., and Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 418—420. "There were frequent robberies," says the collector, "burglaries, rapes, rapines, murders, and barbarous cruelties. Unto some places they were sent as a punishment, and wherever they came, there was a general outcry." From his place in parliament, sir Thomas Wentworth afterwards denounced this: "They have sent from us the light of our eyes; enforced companies of guests worse than the ordinances of France; vitiated our wives and daughters before our faces; brought the crown to greater want than ever it was, by anticipating the revenue! And can the shepherd be thus smitten, and the flock not be scattered?" *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii. p. 370.

five recusants, who had brought their *habeas corpus*.¹

Sir John Eliot, at this moment, lay a prisoner in the Gatehouse. He had been foremost to refuse the loan, was arrested in Cornwall, brought before the council table, and thence committed to prison. In prison, and before the council table, as in his place in the house of commons, Eliot had the unfailing resource of fearlessness, and a composed vigour. Wherever circumstances placed him, he knew that, so long as they left him life, they left him able to perform its duties. From the Gatehouse, he forwarded to the king an able argument against the loan, which he concluded by a request, urged with a humble but brave simplicity, for his own immediate release. This document has been preserved. It commences with a protest against the supposition that "stubbornness and will" have been the motives

¹ The case of sir Thomas Darnel, sir John Corbet, sir Walter Earl, sir John Hevetingham, and sir Everard Hampden, which is reported at great length in the State Trials, is an admirable illustration, among other things, of the character of the crown lawyers and judges of the time. There is an abridgment of the proceedings in Rushworth, pp. 458—462. Sir Randolph Crew, immediately before this case was argued, having, as Rushworth expresses it, "showed no zeal," (i. 420.) was removed to make way for sir Nicholas Hyde; and it is quite clear that two of the judges (Jones and Doddridge) who sat with the latter, having shown a decided leaning towards the prisoners during the argument, were brought to a better understanding with sir Nicholas before the decision. When the case was afterwards sent before the house of lords, and the judges were, so to speak, put upon their trial, judge Whitelock betrayed the secret. "The commons," he said, "do not know what letters and commands we receive." Beyond all praise was the conduct of the counsel employed for the prisoners on this occasion. The most undaunted courage exalted the profoundest knowledge. The sober grandeur of Selden, and the rough energy of Noy, must have struck with an ominous effect on the court councils. It was here that Selden threw out, in a parenthesis, those remarkable words which, it has been judiciously observed (History, from Mackintosh, vol. v. p. 77.) are applicable to periods much later and of more pretension to liberty than that of Charles. They are yet, in fact, to be expounded. "*If Magna Charta were fully executed, as it ought to be, every man would enjoy his liberty better than he doth.*" In connection with this remarkable case, too, sir Edward Coke (who argued it before the lords) presented, for the first time, to his astonished profession, the highest vigour of a noble and liberal thought, issuing, as it were, even out of the most formal technicalities of law. "Shall I have an estate for lives or for years in England, and be tenant at will for my liberty? A freeman, to be tenant at will for his freedom! There is no such tenure in all Littleton!" The excited state of the public mind, during the arguments on this question, is vividly conveyed in a letter I have found among the Harleian MSS. "The gentlemen's counsel for *habeas corpus*, Mr. Selden, Mr. Noy, Sergeant Bramston, and Mr. Colthrop, pleaded yesterday with wonderful applause, *even of shouting and clapping of hands*: which is unusual in that place."

of the writer's recent recusancy. "With a sad, yet a faithful heart," Eliot continues, "he now presumes to offer up the reasons that induced him. The rule of justice he takes to be the law; impartial arbiter of government and obedience; the support and strength of majesty; the observation of that justice by which subjection is commanded." Through a series of illustrious examples the writer then advances to his position of strict obedience to the laws, in the duty of resisting their outrage. "He could not, as he feared, without pressure to these immunities, become an actor in this loan, which by imprisonment and restraint was urged, contrary to the grants of the great charter, by so many glorious and victorious kings so many times confirmed. Though he was well assured by your majesty's promise that it should not become a precedent during the happiness of your reign, yet he conceived from thence a fear that succeeding ages might thereby take occasion, for posterity, to strike at the property of their goods." He concludes by assuring the king, that he will never consent to "inconveniences in reason," or to the dispensation, violation, or impeachment of the laws. "No factious humour, nor disaffection led on by stubbornness and will, hath herein stirred or moved him, but the just obligation of his conscience, which binds him to the service of your majesty, in the observance of your laws; and he is hopeful that your majesty will be pleased to restore him to your favour, and his liberty, and to afford him the benefit of those laws which, in all humility, he craves."¹ Eliot probably never expected that this petition would be granted. Its publication effected his purpose in strengthening the resolutions of the people; and he quietly waited in his prison for the day of a new parliament.

This was precipitated by the insolent fury of Buck-

¹ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 429. Whitlocke says that "Sir John Eliot took this way to inform the king what his council did not." — *Memorials*, p. 8. Anthony Wood oddly converts this into a statement that Eliot was obliged to write in this way to the king, because his (Eliot's) "counsel would not assist him otherwise."

ingham, who had consummated the desperate condition of affairs by a new and unprovoked war with France. At the suggestion of the duke's outraged vanity¹, Charles had dismissed the French servants of his young queen ; she herself had been insulted² ; the remonstrances of the French court answered by a seizure of French ships ; and an expedition for the relief of Rochelle undertaken by the very court whose treachery had so lately assisted to reduce it. Recollecting the bitter sarcasm of Eliot³, Buckingham undertook the command of the present expedition in person ; and, having concerted measures so wretchedly as to be obliged to disembark on the adjacent Isle of Rhé, he there suffered his army to be baffled by an

¹ Clarendon distinctly assigns this as the motive : — " In his embassy in France, where his person and presence was wonderfully admired and esteemed (and in truth it was a wonder in the eyes of all men), and in which he appeared with all the lustre the wealth of England could adorn him with, and outshined all the bravery that court could dress itself in, and over-acted the whole nation in their own most peculiar vanities, he had the ambition to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affection to, a lady of a very sublime quality," — but I will cut short the reader's impatience, and this interminable sentence, by saying at once that Buckingham fell violently in love with the young queen of France, Anne of Austria, declared his passion, and was listened to with anything but resentment. With what success the duke might ultimately have urged his suit, it would be impossible to say, since great authorities differ; but it is certain that his purpose was abruptly foiled by the interference of cardinal Richelieu, in whom he suddenly discovered a formidable rival. The mad desire to foil this great statesman and most absurd lover, and to be able to return to Anne of Austria in all the triumphs of a conqueror, now urged him to these extremities against France. The thing is scarcely credible, but so it certainly appears to have been. What is to be said of the wretched weakness of Charles ? See *Mémoires inédits du Comte de Brienne*, i. *Eclaircissements*, Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires d'Anne d'Autriche*, Aikin's Court of Charles, vol. i. p. 67. Brodie's Hist. of British Empire, vol. ii. p. 139. Lingard's History, vol. ix. p. 361. Clarendon, vol. i. p. 31. Carte (vol. iv. p. 132.) has attempted to throw discredit on it by the production of dates from the *Mercure François*, but unsuccessfully.

² This is not an occasion to notice the personal disputes of the king and queen, nor the way in which, for his own purposes, they were secretly inflamed by Buckingham. Charles, like most unfaithful and decorous husbands, suspected his wife ; and his wife, a woman of energy and spirited sense, despised him. Buckingham's insults to the queen are described by Clarendon, vol. i. p. 31, and other writers. See History, from Mackintosh, vol. v. p. 62. I may add, that the account of the young queen's reception of the news of the dismissal of her servants, as given in a letter of the day, is extremely characteristic of a quick temper redeemed by a ready self-command. " It is said, also, the queene, when she understood the designe, grew very impatient, and brake the glasse windows with her little fist ; but since I heare her rage is appeased, and the king and shee, since they went together to Nonsuch, have been very jocund together." — *Hart. MSS. 383.* Ellis's Original Letters, vol. iii. p. 239.

³ See p. 39. of this Memoir.

inferior force, and to be at length overtaken in a situation where valour was of no avail, and where death destroyed them dreadfully, without even the agency of an enemy.¹ The result of this was in all respects frightful ; mutiny proved the least of the dangers that followed ; and the financial difficulties of the court became so urgent, that the last desperate and dreaded resource forced itself upon the king.² The loan recusants were set at liberty, and writs for a new parliament were issued.

Unprecedented excitement prevailed at the elections.³ Sir John Eliot was triumphantly returned for Cornwall ; and every country gentleman that had refused the loan was sent to the house of commons. " We are without question undone ! " exclaimed a court prophet ; and the king, agitated by fear and rage, prepared himself to " lift the mask." Secret orders were transmitted to the Low Countries for the levy of 1000 German horse, and the

¹ See a letter of Denzil Hollis to Wentworth. *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 42. *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 465. *Carte*, vol. iv. p. 176. *et seq.* Many curious particulars, and especially the letters of Charles to Buckingham, connected with this affair, will be found in *Hardwicke's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 15. *et seq.* I shall have to advert to it again, in noticing one of Eliot's speeches.

² Sir Robert Cotton was consulted by the lords of the council, and his advice is said to have determined the matter. It is melancholy to see, however, that this great scholar was tempted on this occasion (see his Paper in *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 467.) into concessions extremely unworthy of him. It is probable that a rumour of this, coupled with his silence on the affair of the loan, led to his defeat at the Westminster election. Eliot was warmly attached to him. It was at the meetings held at his house, where all the eminent men of the day assembled, that Eliot's intimate friendship with Selden most probably commenced. See the *Cottanian MSS.* Jul. C. III.

³ An extract from a manuscript letter, dated March 8. 1627, will present a lively notion of this excitement. It has quite a modern air : — " There was a turbulent election of burgesses at Westminster, whereof the duke (Buckingham), being steward, made account he should, by his authority and vicinity, have put in sir Robert Pye. It continued three days, and when sir Robert Pye's party cried ' A Pye! a Pye! a Pye!' the adverse party would cry ' A pudding! a pudding! a pudding!' and others, ' A lie! a lie! a lie!' In fine, Bradshaw, a brewer, and Maurice, a grocer, carried it from him by about a thousand voices, they passing by also sir Robert Cotton, besides our man and Mr. Hayward, who were their last burgesses, because, as it is said, they had discontented their neighbours, in urging the payment of the loan. It is feared (saith mine author), because such patriots are chosen every where, the parliament will not last above eight days. You hear of our famous election in Essex, where sir Francis Barrington and sir Harbottle Grimston had all the voices of 16,500 men." — *Sloane MSS.*

purchase of 10,000 stand of arms, immediately to be conveyed to England.¹

This famous third parliament was opened by the king at Westminster, on the 17th of March, 1628, in a speech of insolent menace. If they did not do their duty, he told them, "I must use those other means which God hath put into my hands, to save that which the follies of other men may otherwise hazard to lose. Take not this as threatening; I scorn to threaten any but my equals."² Wonderful was the temper and decorum with which the great leaders of that powerful house listened to this pitiful display. The imagination rises in the contemplation of the profound statesmanship which distinguished every movement of these men, and it is difficult to describe it in terms of appropriate praise. Conscious of the rigour of the duties they had to perform, for these they reserved their strength. Not a word was wasted before the time of action came, not an energy fell to the ground as too great for the occasion. A resolved composure, a quiet confidence, steadily shone from their slightest preparation;—and the court, who had looked to strengthen themselves by the provocation of outrage, were lost in a mixed feeling of wonder and doubt, perhaps of even hope. "Was it possible that the 'new counsels' had cooled the fire of patriotism?" Finch, a man known to be favourably affected to the court, was chosen speaker. "Was the

¹ There is no doubt of this. The pretence afterwards assigned was to defend the kingdom from invasion (*Carte iv. p. 183.*); but the real object was to overawe the house of commons. See *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 474. A commission was issued at the same time (concurrent with the issuing of the election writs!) to certain privy councillors, to consider of raising money by impositions, or otherwise, "wherin form and circumstance must be dispensed with, rather than the substance be lost." These schemes were all defeated, but their discovery necessarily exasperated the commons.—*Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 614.

² *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 477. The men to whom this foolish impertinence was addressed are thus described in a manuscript letter of the time by a very moderate politician. "The house of commons was both yesterday and to-day as full as one could sit by another; and they say it is the most noble and magnanimous assembly that ever these walls contained. And I heard a lord intimate they were able to buy the upper house (his majesty only excepted) thrice over, notwithstanding there be of lords temporal to the number of 118: and what lord in England would be followed by so many freeholders as some of these are."—*Letter*, dated March 21. 1628, in *Sloane's MSS.*

expediency of some compromise recognised at last?" A resolution was passed to grant a supply, no less than five subsidies, and to be paid within twelve months! "Was all this possible?"—"Were these the men who had been sent from every quarter of the country to oppose the court, to resent the wrongs of their constituents, and to avenge their own?" Old secretary Cooke hurried down with feeble haste to grasp at the subsidies. He was then quietly told that they could not be paid; that the bill for collecting them, indeed, should not be framed, until certain necessary securities were given by the king for the future enjoyment of liberty and property among the subjects of the kingdom. The crest-fallen ministers resorted to their hypocritical arts of evasion and refusal: the patriot leaders prepared for action. The consummate policy we have described had resolved the dispute into the clearest elements of right and wrong; and the position of the commons against the court was firmly and immovably determined.¹ What they had resolved to do could now be done; and, the court policy once openly betrayed, the passionate eloquence of Eliot was heard, opening up to the public abhorrence the wounds that had lately been inflicted upon the liberties and laws.²

¹ I refer the reader, for the only exact account of the proceedings of this parliament, to the journals and debates. Dr. Lingard has described the conduct of the leaders of the country party very faithfully. "They advanced step by step; first resolving to grant a supply, then fixing it at the tempting amount of five subsidies, and, lastly, agreeing that the whole should be paid within the short space of twelve months. But no art, no entreaty could prevail on them to pass their resolution in the shape of a bill. It was held out as a lure to the king: it was gradually brought nearer and nearer to his grasp, but they still refused to surrender their hold; they required as a previous condition that he should give his assent to those liberties which they claimed as the birthright of Englishmen."—*History*, vol. ix. p. 372. See also Hume, vol. v. p. 160.

² "Sir John Eliot," says the writer of the *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*, "did passionately and rhetorically set forth our late grievances; he disliked much the violating of our laws." This speech is unfortunately lost. "What pity it is," observes Mr. Brodie, "that no copy has been preserved of sir John Eliot's speech upon the grievances! He appears to have been the most eloquent man of his time." Echoing his regret, I am surprised that Mr. Brodie should have passed without mention a most remarkable speech of Eliot, which I shall have immediate occasion to allude to, delivered by him on the same subject in the present session, and admirably handed down to us from the MSS. of Napier. He had noble seconds on the occasion referred to in the text. "I read of a custom," said sir Robert Philips (rising after Eliot had ceased), "among the old Romans, that

The result, after many committees on the liberty of the subject, was a resolution to prepare the memorable petition of right.¹ Sir John Eliot took part in all the debates; lifted them to the most vigorous and passionately determined tone; and now acted in all respects as the great leader of the house.

Charles's attempts to get hold of the subsidies continued to be unceasing, and every art was resorted to by his ministers. Buckingham, meanwhile, covered with his recent failures and disgraces, had hitherto kept himself out of view; and it is another proof of the noble policy we have characterised in every movement of the popular leaders at this time, that, intent upon their grander objects, they passed the subdued favourite, so long as he was not intruded before them, in contemptuous silence. The court party, however, rarely failed

once every year they held a solemn feast for their slaves, at which they had liberty, without exception, to speak what they would, thereby to ease their afflicted minds; which, being finished, they severally returned to their former servitude. This may, with some resemblance and distinction, well set forth our present state; when now, after the revolution of some time, and grievous suffering of many violent oppressions, we have, as those slaves had, a day of liberty of speech; but shall not, I trust, be hereafter slaves, for we are free. Yet what new illegal proceedings our states and persons have suffered under, my heart yearns to think, my tongue falters to utter! I can live," passionately Philips continued, "although another, who has no right, be put to live with me; nay, I can live although I pay excises and impositions more than I do. But to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, taken from me by power! and to have my body pent up in a gaol, without remedy by law, and to be so adjudged! O improvident ancestors! O unwise forefathers! to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our laws, and the liberties of parliament, and to neglect our persons and bodies, and to let them lie in prison, and that, *deserte & benepascit*, remediless! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? Why do we trouble ourselves with a dispute about law, franchises, property of goods, and the like? What may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his person?" Sir Benjamin Rudyard followed. "This is the crisis of parliaments," he said; "by this we shall know whether parliaments will live or die!" To him succeeded the dark and doubtful energy of Wentworth, and the undimmed clearness of the venerable sir Edward Coke. "I'll begin," said the latter, after approving the proposed supplies, "with a noble record. It cheers me to think of it! It is worthy to be written in letters of gold! Loans against the will of the subject are against reason and the franchises of the land, and they desire restitution. Franchise! What a word is that 'franchise'!" — *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii, p. 363, *et seq.* These men were indeed capable of the great duties that fell to them.

The grievances detailed before these committees were reduced to six heads: attendance at the council board — imprisonment — confinement — designation to foreign employment — martial law — undue proceedings in matters of judicature. These were severally debated, and Eliot spoke upon all of them with characteristic energy. The portions that remain of his speeches are sufficient to indicate this. — *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii, pp. 389—405. &c.

to misconstrue conduct of this sort ; and now, with a fatal precipitancy, presumed upon this silence. Cooke, the king's secretary, by way of an inducement to suffer him to touch the subsidies, assured the house that the king was very grateful for their vote ; and, moreover, that Buckingham had implored his majesty to grant all the popular desires.¹ An extract from a manuscript letter of the time will convey the most lively notion of what followed. "Sir John Eliot instantly *leapt up*, and taxed the secretary for intermingling a subject's speech with the king's message. It could not become any subject to bear himself in such a fashion, as if no grace ought to descend from the king to the people, nor any loyalty ascend from the people to the king, but through him only. Whereunto many in the house made an exclamation, 'Well spoken, sir John Eliot !'"² From a more detailed report I will give an extract of this speech, happily characteristic of Eliot's style, of the dignified phrase, not unmixed with a composed sarcasm, with which in the present instance the sharpness of his rebuke was tempered. " My joy at this message is not without trouble, which must likewise be declared. I must disburthen this affliction, or I cannot, otherwise, so lively and so faithfully express my devotion to the service of this house as I had resolved. I know not by what fatality or infortune it has crept in, but I observe, in the close of the secretary's relation, mention made of another in addition to his majesty ; and that which hath been formerly a matter of complaint, I find here still—a mixture with his majesty, not only in his business, but in name. Is it that any man conceives the mention of others, of what quality soever, can add encouragement or affection to us, in our duties and loyalties towards his majesty, or give them greater latitude or extent than naturally they have ? Or is it supposed that the power or interest of any man can add more

¹ Pari. Hist. vol. vii. p. 431.

² Sloane MSS., 4177. Letter from Mr. Pory. Another account will be found among these manuscripts, in a letter from Mr. Mead, dated April 19. 1628.

readiness to his majesty, in his gracious inclination towards us, than his own goodness gives him? I cannot believe it! But, sir, I am sorry there is occasion that these things should be argued; or that this mixture, which was formerly condemned, should appear again. I beseech you, sir, let it not be hereafter; let no man take this boldness within these walls, to introduce it! It is contrary to the custom of our fathers, and the honour of our times. I desire that such interposition may be let alone, and that all his majesty's regards and goodnesse towards this house may spring alone from his confidence of our loyalty and affections."¹ The secretary remained silent, but the court remembered that rebuke bitterly.

Equally firm, however, against its threatening and cajoling, the commons persisted in their great purpose. Resolutions were passed declaratory of the rights of the people; and a conference appointed with the lords that they might concur in a petition to the throne — founded upon magna charta and other statutes; directed to the security of the person, as the foremost of all securities; strengthened on that point by twelve direct and thirty-one indirect precedents; completed by certain resolutions of their own, reducing those precedents to a distinct unity of purpose²; and to be called a petition of right, because requiring nothing,

¹ Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 433. In this speech also Eliot, referring to the king's thankful recognition of the vote of subsidies, and the honeyed words he had addressed to them through Cooke, expressive of his sense of their claims, threw out a remark in which there appears an ominous union of sarcasm and sternness. "I presume we have all received great satisfaction from his majesty in his present gracious answer and resolution for the business of this house; in his answer to our petition for religion, so particularly made; in his resolution in that other consideration concerning the point, ALREADY SETTLED HERE, in declaration of our liberties; and for the parliament in general."

² These resolutions were four in number, and had for their object the security of the subject from those infamous pretences of the court lawyers and court judges, which had been so remarkably exhibited in the case of the five members. See them in Rushworth, vol. i. p. 513. Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 407. The profound skill and judgment of the leaders of the commons, by sealing down the old statutes thus, at once shut out every possible plea of silence or evasion from the corrupt judges, and struck from under them their old resource to antagonist enactments, judicial precedents, and exercises of prerogative.

save the recognition and direction of violated laws. The lords and commons met, and the constitutional lawyers stated their case with a startling clearness. "It lies not under Mr. attorney's cap," exclaimed sir Edward Coke, "to answer any one of our arguments." "With my own hand," said Selden, "I have written out all the records from the Tower, the exchequer, and the king's bench, and I will engage my head Mr. attorney shall not find in all these archives a single precedent omitted."¹ The close of the conference elicited from the lords a series of counter-resolutions, which were immediately rejected by Eliot and his friends, as nothing more than an ingenious subterfuge. These resolutions, in point of fact, if agreed to, would, after recognising the legality of the precedents urged, have left the matter precisely where it was. The king's word was to be the chief security.²

The lords, in truth, had been tampered with; and the court heedlessly betrayed this by proposing, a few days after, in a royal message, precisely the same security, with the addition of a piece of advice that one

¹ See the reports of the conference in the Journals. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 527. *et seq.*; and Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 469. *et seq.* The legal research and vast ability displayed by the popular leaders in this conference, determined the lords to hear counsel for the crown. One of these, however, serjeant Ashley, having argued in behalf of the prerogative in the high tone of the last reign, was ordered into custody by their lordships, who at the same time assured the commons that he had no authority from them for what he had said. (See Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 47. for the offensive argument; and afterwards, p. 51. and p. 58.) This was a somewhat strong step to take against a king's counsel, employed at a free conference; and Mr. Hallam urges it (Const. Hist. vol. i. p. 533) as a "remarkable proof of the rapid growth of popular principles." It is a compliment to the growing influence of the lower house, but certainly no proof of the popular principles of a body of men who, the very moment after they had thus seemed to condone arbitrary doctrines, proposed to grant to the king in extraordinary cases, the necessity of which he was to determine, a power of commitment without showing cause! This was robbing Peter to pay Paul with a vengeance! See their five propositions, in Rushworth, vol. i. p. 546. An anecdote of one of their lordships, which occurred at this time, is worth subjoining. As the earl of Suffolk was passing from the conference into the committee chamber of the house, he insolently swore at one of the members of the commons, and said Mr. Selden deserved to be hanged, for that he had raised a record. This was immediately noised about, and came to the ears of Eliot. He took up the matter with great warmth, in vindication of his regard for Selden, had the circumstances investigated by a committee, and proposed some stringent resolutions against the earl, "which were agreed unto by the whole house." See Commons' Journals, April 17. 1628; and Parl. Hist. vol. vii. p. 452.

² See Rushworth, vol. i. p. 546.

regrets to see so evidently wasted. It would have been hailed with nods of such profuse delight by a parcel of Chinese mandarins. “The wrath of a king is like the roaring of a lion ; and all laws, with his wrath, are of no effect : but the king’s favour is like the dew upon the grass ; there all will prosper !” Undoubtedly this was lost upon the present audience. Eliot, who was well read in literature, might probably have reminded Philips or Selden of the leonine propensities of the Athenian weaver, who aggravated his voice, however, to such an extent in roaring, that at last he came to roar as gently as a dove or a nightingale. Certainly no other notice was taken. The commons returned to their house, and quietly, and without a single dissentient, ordered their lawyers to throw the matter of their petition into the shape of a bill, that the responsibility of openly rejecting it might fall on the lords and the king.

Message succeeded message, but still the commons proceeded. Briefly and peremptorily, at last, Charles desired, through his secretary, to know decidedly whether the house would or would not rest upon his royal word ? “Upon this there was silence for a good space.”¹ Pym was the first to break it ; and Eliot hastened to relieve Pym from the personal dilemma in which his fearless acuteness threatened to place him. “I move,” said he, “that this proposition be put to the question, because they that would have it do urge us to that point.”² The question was rejected. Charles instantly sent down another message peremptorily warning them not “to encroach on that sove-

¹ See *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 81. *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 551. *Aikin’s Court of Charles*, vol. i. p. 206.

² *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 553. *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 56.

³ There is no mention of this in the debates, but I have it on the authority of a manuscript letter in the collection of Dr. Birch. I may take this opportunity of stating that that learned person had with his own hand transcribed for publication, from the Harleian and various other collections, a vast number of letters, illustrative of the reigns of James I. and Charles I.; but which remain to this day on the shelves of the Sloane collection, as the transcriber left them. Their arrangement and publication would confer a valuable service on history : yet I fear there is no prevailing encouragement for undertakings of this sort. It is to be regretted.

reignty, or prerogative, which God hath put into our hands," and threatening to end the session on Tuesday se'nnight at the furthest. "Whereupon," say the Journals, "sir John Eliot rose and spoke." He complained bitterly of the proposed shortness of the session. "Look," he exclaimed, "how many messages we have! Interruptions, mis-reports, and misrepresentations produce these messages. I fear," continued Eliot, "his majesty yet knows not what we go about. Let us make some enlargement, and put it again before him."¹ An address for this purpose was instantly agreed to by the house, was presented by the speaker, and again the king found himself completely baffled. It would be too painful to follow his windings and doublings through their long and mean course, but that at every turn some new evidence arrests us, of the brilliant powers and resources of the great statesman whose character we seek to illustrate.

So clear and decisive was the last statement of the commons, that Charles fancied he had no resource now but to intimate his assent to the proposed bill; yet, even in doing this, he sought, by an insidious restriction, to withhold from the old statutes and precedents that unity and directness of purpose which the cementing resolutions of the house were, for the first time, about to give to them. "We vindicate," Wentworth had said, — "what? new things? No! our ancient, legal, and vital liberties, — by re-enforcing the laws enacted by our ancestors, by setting such a seal upon them

¹ Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 99. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 555. In the address which was voted in consequence of Eliot's proposition, the king is advised distinctly of the nature of the resolutions they had passed, as I have above explained them. "They have not the least thought of straining or enlarging the former laws; the bounds of their desires extend no farther than to some necessary explanation of that which is truly comprehended within the just sense and meaning of those laws, with some moderate provision for execution and performance." — *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 102. Sir Benjamin Rudyard expressed the matter, in the course of the debate on this address, in a more homely way. "For my own part," he said, "I should be very glad to see that good, old, decrepit law of Magna Charta, which hath been so long kept in, lain bed-rid as it were, — I should be glad, I say, to see it walk abroad again, with new vigour and lustre." The conclusion of his speech was a covered rebuke to Charles. "No man is bound to be rich, or great — no, nor to be wise. But every man is bound to be honest."

as no licentious spirit shall dare hereafter to enter upon them!" "I assent," said Charles, unworthily at the same moment seeking to evade this seal, "but so as that Magna Charta and the other six statutes alluded to may be without additions, paraphrases, or explanations."¹ The commons had not had time to spurn the proffered deceit, when, with a childish imbecility, the king sent down another message desiring that they should take his word.² The house was at this moment sitting in committee. Secretary Cooke, who brought the message, concluded with an earnest desire that "the debate upon it should be done before the house, and not before the committee." He had good reasons for this; for he knew what arguments might possibly be urged, and that the court had at least one security against them, in the secret commands which the king had already placed upon the timid speaker.³ Sir John Eliot, conscious of the weakness of Finch, saw through the secretary's purpose, and effectually foiled it. With great energy he urged proceeding in committee as more likely to be honourable and advantageous. "That way," he said, "leads most to truth. It is a more open way. Every man may there add his reasons, and make answer upon the hearing of other men's reasons and arguments."⁴ The house assented; the debate proceeded with closed doors; and the result was a plain and determined resolution by the commons, that they could only take the king's word in a parliamentary way. They passed their bill, and sent it up to the lords.⁵

¹ Speech of the lord keeper, *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 98. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 557. The miserable fatuity of consenting thus to their proceeding by bill, while he robs them of all the advantages they sought to achieve by that mode of procedure, is too apparent.

² Rushworth, vol. i. p. 557. *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 103. The secretary's wriggling method of delivering this message was curious and instructive.

³ Finch had already commenced his bargain for promotion, by promising the king to discountenance, as much as possible, any aspersion of his ministers, and more especially of Buckingham. I have already suggested the only motive the commons could have had in electing this man as their speaker. They appear to have desired to impress the court, on their first meeting, with a sense of how little they were disposed to be actuated in their duties by any violent temper, or the resentment of individual wrongs. They committed an error, but a generous one.

⁴ *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 104.

⁵ In the interval between this and the *first assent* of Charles, the affair

To the lords the king now addressed a letter, stating that he could not, without the overthrow of his sovereignty, part with the power of committing the subject, but promising in all ordinary cases to obey Magna Charta, and not to imprison for the future "any man for refusing a loan, nor for any cause which, in his judgment and conscience, he did not conceive necessary for the public good."¹ This letter was instantly sent to the lower house, and all the notice we find of it in their journals is given in four words,—“They laid it aside.”² Not so the lords, who, with customary pliancy, founded upon it a saving clause to reserve his majesty's “sovereign power,” and — so weakened — sent down the bill. “Let us take heed,” said Coke, on hearing the addition, “what we yield unto ; Magna Charta is such a fellow that he will have no sovereign.” Selden followed with a singular warning and precedent³; the clause was generally condemned ; and, after a conference, the lords consented to abandon it. The petition of right,

of Dr. Manwaring was brought before the house. I shall have to allude to it in the biography of Pym.

¹ The Lords' Journals, May 12. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 560. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 110.

² Rushworth, vol. i. p. 561. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 112.

³ The debate on this question was one of the most remarkable, for a display of ready knowledge and acute judgment. See especially Selden's speech, and that delivered by Gianvil before the lords. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 562—579. A precedent had been urged by the opposite party, from a petition in the reign of Edward I. Selden's all-wonderful learning never failed him. “That clause of 28th Edward I.,” he said, at once silencing his opponents, “was not in the petition, but in the king's answer.” Then mark how triumphantly he turned the tables on them—the passage is in all respects remarkable. “In 28th Edward I., the commons, by petition or bill, did obtain the liberties and articles at the end of the parliament; they were extracted out of the roll, and proclaimed abroad. The addition was added in the proclamation; but in the bill there was no ‘savant;’ yet afterwards it was put in. And to prove this, though it is true there is no parliament-roll of that year, yet we have histories of that time. In the library at Oxford there is a journal of a parliament of that very year which mentions so much; as also in the public library at Cambridge there is in a MS. that belonged to an abbey: it was of the same year, 28th Edward I., and it mentions the parliament, and the petitions, and ‘articulos quos petierant sic confirmosserat rex, ut in fine adderet, salvo jure coronae regis,’ and they came in by proclamation. But, in London, when the people heard of this clause being added in the end, they fell into execration for that addition; and the great earls that went away satisfied from the parliament, hearing of this, went to the king, and afterwards it was cleared at the next parliament. Now there is no parliament-roll of this, of that time; only in the end of Edward III. there is one roll that recites it.”

adopted by both houses, was now presented to the throne.

Charles, for two long months, had, by every sort of subterfuge, struggled to avoid this crisis. It had arrived, notwithstanding. On the one hand, want awaited him ; on the other, the surrender of his darling power. Incapable of either, he sought a passage of escape through one perfidy more, and in this he might have succeeded — but for Eliot. He sent for the judges, and, with the most solemn injunctions to secrecy, put three questions to them respecting the proposed petition of rights : — “ Whether the king may commit without showing a cause ? ” “ Whether the judges ought to deliver on habeas corpus a person committed ? ” “ Whether he should not deprive himself of such power of commitment by granting the petition of right ? ” The judges answered to the first and second questions, that the general rule of law was against him, but exceptive cases might arise ; and to the third, they said that it must be left to the courts of justice in each particular case.¹ Consoling himself with these assurances, he went to the house of lords in a sort of secret triumph, resolved to assent to the bill, yet in such terms as might still leave its construction to his convenient parasites on the bench. The commons hurried up to their lordships’ bar.

So closed the debate on “ sovereign power.” I may add that upon this proposed addition, that notably bungling intriguer, bishop Williams, eminently distinguished himself. He professed to be an ardent promoter of the petition of right, yet he stood up mightily for the clause. The consequence was a meeting between himself and Buckingham, a perfect reconciliation, and, as we are told, “ his grace had the bishop’s consent with a little asking, that he would be his grace’s faithful servant in the next session of parliament ; and was allowed to hold up a seeming enmity, and his own popular estimation, that he might the sooner do the work.” Such were the public men with whom Eliot had to deal, and upon the faith of such as these have attempts been made upon his character. See Hackett’s *Scrinia Reservata*, p. 77. *et seq.*

¹ The questions and answers were discovered at length in the Hargrave MSS. xxxii. 97. Hallam’s Constitutional History, vol. i. p. 523. Ellis’s Original Letters, new series, vol. iii. p. 250. History, from Mackintosh, vol. v. p. 92. Much unnecessary trouble, on the part of the king, appears through all these proceedings : for he afterwards proved himself quite as capable of openly violating a statute enacted in the regular manner, as of playing the game of evasion with his duty and his conscience. But wounded vanity had clearly much to do with it.

" Gentlemen," he said, with a sullen abruptness, " I am come hither to perform my duty. I think no man can think it long, since I have not taken so many days in answering the petition, as ye spent weeks in framing it: and I am come hither to show you that, as well in formal things as in essential, I desire to give you as much content as in me lies." He then, to the surprise of his hearers, instead of the ordinary *soit droit fait comme il est désiré*, delivered the following by way of royal assent:—" The king willeth, that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged, as of his own prerogative."¹

The next meeting of the house of commons was a very momentous one. The singular treachery of the king had struck with a paralysing effect upon many of the members; it seemed hopeless to struggle with it further; it had continued proof against every effort; all the constitutional usages of parliament had fallen exhausted from the unequal contest; and already the house saw itself dissolved, without the achievement of a single guarantee for the liberty and property of the kingdom. The best and the bravest began to despair.

But then the genius of Eliot rose to the grandeur of that occasion; and, by its wonderful command over every meaner passion, by its great disregard of every personal danger, wrested the very sense of hopeless discomfiture to the achievement of a noble security. Knowing more thoroughly than others the character of the king, he knew that he was yet assailable. His conduct at this awful crisis has seemed to me to embody a perfect union of profound sagacity and fearless magnanimity, unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled, in the history of the most illustrious statesmen.

¹ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 588. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 145.

"On Tuesday, the 3d of June," says Rushworth, "the king's answer to the petition of right was read in the house of commons, and seemed too scant. Whereupon sir John Eliot stood up, and made a long speech, wherein he gave forth so full and lively a representation of all grievances, both general and particular, *as if they had never before been mentioned.*"¹ But observe with what consummate policy. It was not a representation of the grievances alone, such as had been urged some months before: it was a pursuit of them to their poisonous spring and source; it was an exhibition beside them of their hideous origin; it was a direction of the wrath of the people against one oppressor, whose rank was not beyond its reach; it was, in one word, a fatal blow at Charles through that quarter where alone he seemed to be vulnerable—it was, in its aim and result, a philippic against the duke of Buckingham. Demosthenes never delivered one, more clear, plain, convincing, irresistible. It calls to mind that greatest of orators. Eliot's general style was more immediately cast in the manner of Cicero, but here he rose beyond it, into the piercing region of the Greek. Demosthenic strength and closeness of reasoning, clearness of detail, and appalling earnestness of style, are all observable in the naked outline I now present. What may have been the grandeur and the strength of its complete proportions? I recollect a remark of Mr. Hazlitt's, that the author of this speech might have originated the "dogged style" of one of our celebrated political writers. "There is no affectation of wit in it," he continued, "no studied ornament, no display of fancied superiority. The speaker's whole heart and soul are in his subject; he is full of it; his mind seems, as it were, to surround and penetrate every part of it;" nothing diverts him from his purpose, or interrupts the course of his reasoning for a

¹ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 391. The indefatigable collector, however, only gives a brief outline of the speech. It may be worth notice also, that, owing to some confusion in his papers, a portion of this outline was printed in the wrong place, and still stands as a separate speech both in his work and the Parliamentary History. See the latter, vol. vii. p. 399; and Rushworth, vol. i. p. 390.

moment. No thought of the personal loss, then frightfully incurred, no fear of the dangers that were sure to follow. His argument rose paramount, for it was the life of the nation's liberties.¹

"Mr. Speaker," Eliot began, "we sit here as the great council of the king, and, in that capacity, it is our duty to take into consideration the present state and affairs of the kingdom. In this consideration, I confess, many a sad thought hath affrighted me; and that not only in respect of our dangers from abroad, which yet I know are great, as they have been often in this place prest and dilated to us, but in respect of our disorders here at home, which do inforce those dangers, and by which they are occasioned. For, I believe, I shall make it cleare unto you, that, as at first the cause of these dangers were our disorders, so our disorders now are yet our greatest dangers. It is not so much the potency of our enemies, as the weakness of ourselves, that threatens us. That saying of the father may be assumed by us: *Non tam potentia sua, quam negligentia nostra.* Our want of true devotion to heaven, our insincerity and doubling in religion, our want of councils, our precipitate actions, the insufficiency or unfaithfulness of our generals abroad, the ignorance or corruptions of our ministers at home, the impoverishing of the sovereign, the oppression and depression of the subject, the exhausting of our treasures, the waste of our provisions, consumption of our ships, destruction of our men — these make the advantage to our enemies, not the reputation of their arms. And if in these there be not reformation, we need no foes abroad. Time itself will ruin us!"

¹ It is a saying of May, the historian, in reference to this and other speeches, that "the freedom that sir John Eliot used in parliament, was by the people applauded, though much taxed by the courtiers, and censured by some of a more politique reserve (considering the times) among his own party, in that kind that Tacitus censures Thræsus Portus, as thinking such freedom a needless, and therefore a foolish thing, where no cure could be hoped by it. *Sibi periculum, nec aliis libertatem.*" This is the old reproach of the timid and indifferent. I am about to show, in the present instance, that he incurred the danger, which soon after fell upon his life, in no spirit of idle forwardness, but for the achievement of a great practical purpose, which he did achieve.

A slight interruption from the ministers here appears to have given Eliot a moment's pause. With admirable address he appealed to the house. " You will all hold it necessary that what I am about to urge seems not an aspersion on the state, or imputation on the government, as I have known such motions misinterpreted. Far is this from me to propose, who have none but clear thoughts of the excellency of the king, nor can have other ends than the advancement of his majesty's glory. I shall desire," he continued, " a little of your patience extraordinary to open the particulars, which I shall do with what brevity I may, answerable to the importance of the cause, and the necessity now upon us, yet with such respect and observation to the time, as I hope it shall not be thought troublesome."

He then proceeded to open up the question of " insincerity and doubling in religion." He pursued it through many strong and terrible examples. " Will you have authority of books?" he asked, furnishing them with a series of the most striking passages from the recent collections of the committee that had been sitting on religious affairs. " Will you have proofs of men?" he continued. " Witness the hopes, witness the presumptions, witness the reports of all the papists generally. Observe the dispositions of commanders, the trust of officers, the confidence in secretaries to employments in this kingdom, in Ireland, and elsewhere! These all will show it hath too great a certainty; and to this add but the incontrovertible evidence of that all-powerful hand, which we have felt so sorely. For if the heavens oppose themselves to us for our impiety, it is we that first opposed the heavens."

Eliot next handled the "want of councils." " This," he said, " is that great disorder in a state, with which there cannot be stability. If effects may show their causes, as they are often a perfect demonstration of them, our misfortunes, our disasters, serve to prove it, and the consequences they draw with them. *If reason be allowed in this dark age,* the judgment of depend-

encies and foresight of contingencies in affairs do confirm it. For, if we view ourselves at home, are we in strength, are we in reputation, equal to our ancestors? If we view ourselves abroad, are our friends as many, are our enemies no more? Do our friends retain their safety and possessions? Do not our enemies enlarge themselves, and gain from them and us? To what counsel owe we the loss of the Palatinate, where we sacrificed both our honour and our men,—obstructing those greater powers appointed for that service, by which it might have been defensible? What counsel gave direction to the late action, whose wounds are yet bleeding—I mean the expedition to Rhée, of which there is yet so sad a memory in all men? What design for us, or advantage to our state, could *that* import? You know the wisdom of our ancestors, and the practice of their times; how *they* preserved their safeties! We all know, and have as much cause to doubt as they had, the greatness and ambition of that kingdom, WHICH THE OLD WORLD COULD NOT SATISFY.¹ Against this greatness and ambition we likewise know the proceedings of that princess, that never-to-be-forgotten, excellent queen, Elizabeth, whose name, without admiration, falls not into mention even with her enemies! You know how she advanced herself, and how she advanced this nation in glory and in state; how she depressed her enemies, and how she upheld her friends; how she enjoyed a full security, and made them then our scorn, who now are made our terror!"

The principles of that policy by which Elizabeth had effected all this, Eliot now developed to the house, exhibiting beside them the singularly opposite and pitiful contrast of the prevailing policy. The passage is remarkable for its subtlety, no less than for its exactest truth. "Some of the principles she built on were these; and, if I mistake, let reason and our statesmen contradict me.—First, to maintain, in what she might, an unity in

¹ The entire range of English oratory furnishes nothing finer in expression and purpose than this allusion to Spain.

France, that that kingdom, being at peace within itself, might be a bulwark to keep back the power of Spain by land. Next, to preserve an amity and league between that state and us, that so we might come in aid of the Low Countries, and by that means receive their ships and help them by sea. This TREBLE CORD, so working between France, the States, and England, might enable us, as occasion should require, to give assistance unto others. It was by this means, the experience of that time doth tell us, that we were not only free from those fears that now possess and trouble us, but our names were also fearful to our enemies. See now what correspondency *our* actions have with this; square them by these rules. They have induced, as a necessary consequence, a division in France between the protestants and their king, of which we have had too woful and lamentable experience. They have made an absolute breach between that state and us, and so entertain us against France, and France in preparation against us, that we have nothing to promise to our neighbours — hardly to ourselves! Nay, observe the time in which they were attempted, and you shall find it not only varying from those principles, but directly contrary and opposite, *ex diametro*, to those ends! and such as, from the issue and success, rather might be thought a conception of Spain, than begotten here with us!"

Every word was now falling with tremendous effect upon Buckingham, and the ministers could endure it no longer. Sir Humphry May, the chancellor of the duchy, and one of the privy council, started from his seat, "expressing," as Rushworth states it, "a dislike. But the house ordered sir John Eliot to go on. Whereupon he proceeded thus: — 'Mr. Speaker, I am sorry for this interruption, but much more sorry if there hath been occasion; — wherein, as I shall submit myself wholly to your judgment, to receive what censure you should give me, if I have offended; so, in the integrity of my intentions and clearness of my thoughts, I must still retain this confidence,—that no greatness shall deter

me from the duties which I owe to the service of my king and country, but that, with a true English heart, I shall discharge myself as faithfully, and as really, to the extent of my poor power, as any man whose honours or whose offices most strictly oblige him.'"

With admirable self-possession, Eliot then resumed his speech at the very point of interruption, and continued to urge the madness of breaking peace with France at a time so emphatically unfortunate. " You know," he said, " the dangers Denmark was in, and how much they concerned us ; what in respect of our alliance and the country ; what in the importance of the Sound ; (what an advantage to our enemies the gain thereof would be !) What loss then, what prejudice to us, by this disunion ! we breaking upon France, France enraged by us, and the Netherlands at amazement between both ! no longer could we intend to aid that luckless king, whose loss is our disaster."¹ Here Eliot, having, as it appears to me, reduced the matter *ad absurdum*, suddenly turned round to the ministerial bench. " Can those, now, that express their troubles at the hearing of these things, and have so often told us, in this place, of their knowledge in the conjunctures and disjunctures of affairs, *say, they advised in this?* Was this an act of council, Mr. Speaker? *I have more charity than to think it; and, unless they make a confession of themselves, I cannot believe it.*"

The orator now, under cover of a discussion of a third division of his argument, " the insufficiency and unfaithfulness of our generals," dragged Buckingham personally upon the scene. For a moment, however, before doing this, he paused. " What shall I say ? I wish there were not cause to mention it ; and, but out of apprehension of the danger that is to come,

¹ It would be easy to dilate this speech into a volume, so pregnant is every word with meaning, so condensed are its views, yet so exact and forcible. The reader who is best acquainted with the general history of the time, will appreciate it best. The present is an allusion to the disastrous defeat of the king of Denmark by count Tilly. The king of England had precipitated the quarrel by his weak importunities, and then, by this outrageous war with France, utterly disabled his own power of assistance.

if the like choice hereafter be not prevented, I could willingly be silent. But my duty to my sovereign, my service to this house, and the safety and honour of my country, are above all respects;—and what so nearly trenches to the prejudice of this, must not, shall not, be borne."

Then followed this bitter and searching exposure of the incapacity of Buckingham in his various actions. How much its effect is increased by the ominous omission of his name!

" At Cadiz, then, in that first expedition we made, when we arrived and found a conquest ready,—(the Spanish ships I mean, which were fit for the satisfaction of a voyage; and of which some of the chiefest then there themselves, have since assured me, that the satisfaction would have been sufficient, either in point of honour, or in point of profit,)—why was it neglected? why was it not achieved? it being of all hands granted, how feasible it was?

" After, when with the destruction of some of our men, and with the exposition of some others, who (though their fortunes since have not been such) by chance came off,—when, I say with the loss of our serviceable men, that unserviceable fort was gained, and the whole army landed;—why was there nothing done? —why was there nothing attempted? If nothing was intended, wherefore did they land? If there was a service, wherefore were they shipped again?

" Mr. Speaker, it satisfies me too much in this,—when I think of their dry and hungry march into that drunken quarter (for so the soldiers termed it), where was the period of their journey,—*that divers of our men, being left as a sacrifice to the enemy, the general's labour was at an end!*"

" For the next undertaking at Rhée I will not trouble you much,—only this in short. Was not that whole action carried against the judgment and opinion of those officers that were of the council? Was not the first, was not the last, was not all, in the landing, in

the intrenching, in the continuance there, in the assault, in the retreat, *without their assent?* Did any advice take place of such as were of the council? If there should be made a particular inquisition thereof, these things will be manifest, *and more!* — I will not instance the manifesto that was made for the reason of these arms; nor by whom, nor in what manner, nor on what grounds, it was published; nor what effects it hath wrought, drawing, as it were, almost the whole world into league against us; — nor will I mention the leaving of the wines, or the leaving of the salt, which were in our possession, and of a value, as it is said, to answer much of our expense; — *nor that great wonder which no Alexander or Caesar ever did, the enriching of the enemy by courtesies when our soldiers wanted help*¹; nor the private intercourses and parleys with the fort, which continually were held; — what all these intended may be read in the success, and upon due examination thereof, they would not want *their proofs!*"

Eliot passed to the consideration of "the ignorance and corruption of our ministers." "Where," he asked, "can you miss of instances? If you survey the court, if you survey the country; if the church, if the city be examined; if you observe the bar, if the bench; if the ports, if the shipping; if the land, if the seas, — all these will render you variety of proofs, and that in such measure and proportion as shows the greatness of our disease to be such, that, if there be not some

¹ The affected gallantries and courtesies practised by Buckingham to the enemy, during this expedition, were ridiculous in the extreme. When Toiras sent a trumpet to request a passport to convey some wounded officers to the coast, Buckingham sent them his grand chaloupe, or yacht, furnished with every elegant convenience, and lined with *tres belles escarlettes rouge*; while his musicians, with all the varieties of their instruments, solaced and charmed the wounded enemy in crossing the arm of the sea. Toiras once inquiring "whether they had saved any melons in the island?" was the next day presented, in the duke's name, with a dozen. The bearer received twenty golden crowns; and Toiras despatching six bottles of orange flower water, and a dozen jars of cypress powder, the duke presented the bearer with twenty Jacobuses! After a sharp action, when Toiras sent one of his pages with a trumpet, to request leave to bury some noblemen, the duke received the messenger with terms of condolence. See an amusing account in D'Israeli's *Commentaries*, vol. ii. p. 48.

speedy application for remedy, our case is almost desperate."

Eliot here paused for a few moments. "Mr. Speaker," he said, "I fear I have been too long in these particulars that are passed, and am unwilling to offend you; therefore in the rest I shall be shorter." As he condenses his statements, it will be seen he becomes more terrible.

"In that which concerns the impoverishing of the king, no other arguments will I use than such as all men grant. The exchequer, you know, is empty, and the reputation thereof gone; the ancient lands are sold; the jewels pawned; the plate engaged; the debt still great; almost all charges, both ordinary and extraordinary, borne up by projects. What poverty can be greater? What necessity so great? What perfect English heart is not almost dissolved into sorrow for this truth!

"For the oppression of the subject, which, as I remember, is the next particular I proposed, it needs no demonstration: the whole kingdom is a proof. And for the exhausting of our treasury, that very oppression speaks it. What waste of our provisions, what consumption of our ships, what destruction of our men, have been! Witness that journey to Argiers. Witness that with Mansfield. Witness that to Cadiz. Witness the next. Witness that to Rhée. Witness the last. (I pray God we may never have more such witnesses!) Witness likewise the Palatinate. Witness Denmark. Witness the Turks. Witness the Dunkirkers. **WITNESS ALL!** What losses we have sustained! how we are impaired in munition, in ships, in men! It is beyond contradiction, that we were never so much weakened, nor ever had less hope how to be restored."

Eliot concluded thus, with a proposition for a remonstrance to the king.

"These, Mr. Speaker, are our dangers; these are they which do threaten us; and they are like the Trojan horse, brought in cunningly to surprise us. In these do

lurk the strongest of our enemies, ready to issue on us ; and if we do not speedily expel them, these are the signs, these the invitations to others. These will so prepare *their* entrance, that we shall have no means left of refuge, or defence. For if we have these enemies at home, how can we strive with those that are abroad ? If we be free from these, no other can impeach us ! Our ancient English virtue, like the old Spartan valour, cleared from these disorders,— a return to sincerity in religion, once more friends with heaven, having maturity of councils, sufficiency of generals, incorruption of officers, opulence in the king, liberty in the people, repletion in treasure, plenty of provisions, reparation of ships, preservation of men—our ancient English virtue, I say, thus rectified, will secure us ; but unless there be a speedy reformation in these, I know not what hopes or expectations we can have.

“ These are the things, sir, I shall desire to have taken into consideration ; that as we are the great council of the kingdom, and have the apprehension of these dangers, we may truly represent them unto the king : whereto, I conceive, we are bound by a treble obligation — of duty to God, of duty to his majesty, and of duty to our country.

“ And therefore I wish it may so stand with the wisdom and judgment of the house, that they may be drawn into the body of a remonstrance, and in all humility expressed ; with a prayer unto his majesty, that, for the safety of himself, for the safety of the kingdom, and for the safety of religion, he will be pleased *to give us time* to make perfect inquisition thereof ; or to take them into his own wisdom, and there give them such timely reformation as the necessity and justice of the case doth import.

“ And thus, sir, with a large affection and loyalty to his majesty, and with a firm duty and service to my country, I have suddenly (and it may be with some disorder) expressed the weak apprehensions I have ; wherein if I have erred, I humbly crave your

pardon, and so submit myself to the censure of the house."¹

Eliot's purpose was already accomplished! Scarcely had he resumed his seat, when the effects he had laboured to produce broke forth. "Disaffection!" cried sir Henry Martin and others of the court party; "and there wanted not some who said that speech was made out of some distrust of his majesty's answer to the petition;"²—from the popular side, on the other hand, some stern and significant words were heard about the necessity of a remonstrance. The crisis had unquestionably come. The courtiers went off to tell their news at the council table—the patriots "turned themselves into a grand committee, touching the danger and means of safety of king and kingdom."

The newsmongers discharged their duty faithfully. The next day a royal message came to the house, acquainting them that within six days the session would close, and desiring them not to touch upon any new matter, but to conclude the necessary business.³ The day following that brought another message, "commanding the Speaker to let them know, that he will certainly hold that day prefixed without alteration, and he requires them, that they enter not into, or proceed with, any new business, which may spend greater time, or which may lay any scandal or aspersion upon the state, government, or ministers thereof."⁴ The scene that ensued

¹ This speech was preserved in sir John Napier's manuscripts, and will be found in the Old Parliamentary History, vol. viii. p. 155.

² Rushworth, vol. i. p. 592. Eliot is said to have remarked on this, that he had for some time "had a resolution to open these last-mentioned grievances, to satisfy his majesty herein, only he had stayed for an opportunity." This reads like a sarcasm. Be that as it may, it is remarkable that Wentworth, upon this, is described to have stepped forward and "attested that averment," saying that he had heard such to have been the determination of Eliot. This is the only appearance of courtesy, or, indeed, of any other feeling than a violent dislike, which it is possible to trace in the conduct of Wentworth to Eliot. And it might have been meant in the way of "damned good-natured friendship." On the whole, however, I suspect it to have been simply another fillip to the wavering negotiations of the court, which Wentworth was now waiting the issue of. Many communications had already passed through the medium of the Speaker and Weston. See Strafford's State Papers, vol. i. p. 46.

³ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 593. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 167.

⁴ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 605. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 168.

was in all respects extraordinary. Sir Robert Philips was the first to rise. "I consider my own infirmities," said Philips, "and if ever my passions were wrought upon, now this message stirs me up especially. What shall we do, since our humble purposes are thus prevented?"¹ Eliot here suddenly started up, and spoke with more than ordinary vehemence. "Ye all know," he said, "with what affection and integrity we have proceeded hitherto, to have gained his majesty's heart. It was out of the necessity of our duty, we were brought to that course we were in. I doubt a misrepresentation to his majesty hath drawn this mark of his displeasure upon us! I observe in the message, amongst other sad particulars, it is conceived, that we were about to lay some aspersions on the government. Give me leave to protest, sir, that so clear were our intentions, that we desire only to vindicate those dishonours to our king and country! It is said also, as if we cast some aspersions on his majesty's ministers! I am confident no minister, how dear soever, can—" A strange interruption stopped him. "Here," says the account in the Napier MSS., "the Speaker started up from the chair, and, apprehending sir John Eliot intended to fall upon the duke, said, *with tears in his eyes*, 'There is a command laid upon me, to interrupt any that should go about to lay an aspersion on the ministers of the state.'"² Eliot sat down in silence.

Events, for passions include events, now crowded together to work their own good work; and the great statesman, the author, as it were, of that awful scene, may be conceived to have been the only one who beheld it from the vantage ground of a sober consciousness and control. Into that moment his genius had thrown a forecast of the future. The after terrors he did not live to see, but now concentrated in the present spot were all their intense and fervid elements. They struggled in their birth with tears. I do not know whether it

¹ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 606.

² Ibid. vol. i. p. 606. Parl. Hist. vol. viii. p. 191.

may not be thought indecorous and unseemly now for statesmen to shed tears, but I consider the weeping of that memorable day, that "black and doleful Thursday," to have been the precursor of an awful resolve. Had these great men entertained a less severe sense of their coming duty, no such present weakness had been shown. The monarchy, and its cherished associations of centuries, now trembled in the balance. "Sir Robert Philips spoke," says a member of the house, writing to his friend the day after, "and mingled his words with weeping; sir Edward Coke, overcome with passion, seeing the desolation that was like to ensue, was forced to sit down when he began to speak, through the abundance of tears; yea the speaker in his speech could not refrain from weeping and shedding of tears; besides a great many, whose great griefs made them dumb and silent."²

A deep silence succeeded this storm, and the few words that broke the silence startled the house into its accustomed attitude of resolution and composure.—"It is the speech lately spoken by sir John Eliot which has given offence, as we fear, to his majesty."³—The irresolute men who hazarded these words at such a time little anticipated their immediate result. "Hereupon," says Rushworth, "the house declared, 'that every member of the house is free from any undutiful speech, from the beginning of the parliament to that day;' and ordered, 'that the house be turned into a committee, to consider what is fit to be done for the safety of the kingdom; and that no man go out upon pain of being sent to the Tower.'⁴ The time for

¹ This expression is used in a manuscript letter of the day.

² This interesting letter will be found in Rushworth, vol. i. p. 609. It will be seen that in the commencement of it, the writer, Mr. Alured, distinctly conveys the impression that this extraordinary scene had been caused by Eliot's great speech of two days before. He gives a sketch of the speech, and afterwards describes the interference of the ministers. "As he was enumerating which, the chancellor of the dutchy said 'it was a strange language; yet the house commanded sir John Eliot to go on. Then the chancellor desired, if he went on, that himself might go out. Whereupon they all bade him begone, yet he stayed and heard him out."

³ Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 606, 617. Parl. Hist., vol. viii. p. 192.

action had arrived. The speaker, in abject terror, "humbly and earnestly besought the house to give him leave to absent himself for half an hour, presuming they did not think he did it for any ill intention; which was instantly granted him."¹ He went to the king. In the interval of his absence cheerful acclamations resounded once more through the house, for again Buckingham was fearlessly named as the "grievance of grievances;" and "as when one good hound," observes a member who was present, "recovers the scent, the rest come in with a full cry, so they pursued it, and every one came on home, and laid the blame where they thought the fault was, and were voting it to the question, 'that the duke of Buckingham shall be instanced to be the chief and principal cause of all those evils,' when the speaker, having been three hours absent and with the king, brought this message, 'that his majesty commands, for the present, they adjourn the house till to-morrow morning, and that all committees cease in the meantime.' What we shall expect this morning God of heaven knows."²

The king, it is evident, now shook with alarm. The clouds were gathering over his favourite thicker and blacker than ever. That morning, however, with a last vague hope, he sent a cozening message, and a wish for a "sweet parting."³ The only notice taken of it by the commons was the forwarding of a petition "for a clear and satisfactory answer in full parliament to the petition of rights⁴," and the stern opening of an investigation into several high grievances, more especially the charge I have before mentioned of a design for introducing foreign troops into the kingdom.⁵ No alternative was

¹ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 679.

² Rushworth, vol. i. p. 670. Parl. Hist., vol. viii. p. 196.

³ "So, for this time," ran the close of the message, "let all Christendom take notice of a sweet parting between him and his people; which, if it fall out, his majesty will not be long from another meeting; when such grievances, if there be any, at their leisure and convenience may be considered." Parl. Hist., vol. viii. p. 197. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 610.

⁴ Parl. Hist., vol. viii. p. 201. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 612.

⁵ Burlemach, a naturalised Dutch merchant, was examined, and admitted that he had received 30,000*l.* from the treasury, for the raising of

left to Charles, and the commons were summoned the next day to meet him in the upper house.

"To avoid all ambiguous interpretations, and to show you there is no doubleness in my meaning, I am willing to pleasure you as well in words as in substance. Read your petition, and you shall have an answer that, I am sure, will please you."¹ Such was Charles's speech to the members of the house of commons who crowded that day round their lordships' bar. The petition was read accordingly, and the usual answer was returned,—
Soit droit fait comme il est désiré. "At the end of the king's first speech," says a memorandum on the lords' journals, "at the answer to the petition, and on the conclusion of the whole, the commons gave a great and joyful applause."

Charles the First, after he left the house of lords that day, stood in a different relation to the people from that he had occupied before. It is impossible to deny this fact.² The commons had asserted it in cleaving so strongly to their resolutions, the king himself in striving so desperately to evade them. A certainty of direction and operation had been given to the old laws. Charles appeared, indeed, to sanction the notion of a great and vital change by the first step he took. He sent a message

German horse, which he had disbursed accordingly. He further admitted that 1000 horse had been levied in consequence, and arms provided for them in Holland, but that "he heard they were lately countermanded." *Parl. Hist.*, vol. viii. p. 200. And see *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 612.

¹ *Parl. Hist.*, vol. viii. p. 202. *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 613.

² Hume observes, "It may be affirmed, without any exaggeration, that the king's assent to the petition of rights produced such a change in the government as was almost equivalent to a revolution; and by circumscribing in so many articles the royal prerogative, gave additional security to the liberties of the subject." Without going so far as this, it is quite certain that it materially altered Charles's position in a moral as well as legal sense. The petition of rights (it is given at length in Hume's *History*, vol. v. p. 171.) affirmed and confirmed expressly the enactments of the 9 Hen. III. chap. 29. (*Magna Charta*), that no freeman be deprived of his liberty or his property except by judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land: of the 25 Edw. III. chap. 33, that no man, of whatever estate or condition, should be taken, imprisoned, disseised, dispossessed, or put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law: and of the 25, 37, 38, 42 Edw. III., with the 17 Rich. II., to the same intent. But it did even more than this, by its embodiment of the supplementary resolutions of the commons, which, as I have already observed, bound the judges to a strict letter of construction, and deprived them of the plea of antagonist enactments.

to the commons, desiring "that the petition of rights, with his assent thereunto, should not only be recorded in both houses, and in the courts of Westminster, but that it be put in print, for his honour, and the content and satisfaction of his people."¹

The commons, according to Rushworth, "returned to their own house with unspeakable joy, and resolved so to proceed as to express their thankfulness. Now frequent mention was made of proceeding with the bill of subsidies, of sending the bills which were ready to the lords, and of perfecting the bill of tonnage and poundage. Sir John Strangewaines expressed his joy at the answer, and further added, 'Let us perfect our remonstrance.'"² And such was their exact mode of procedure. The largest supplies that had been voted for years were at once presented to the king. The king's commission of excise was demanded to be cancelled under the new act of right. The bill for the granting of tonnage and poundage, which was already far advanced, was passed, but a protest voted at the same time, on the ground of its inconsistency with the new act, against Charles's old course of levying this imposition without consent of parliament.³ A remonstrance was also voted and presented to the king, against certain proceedings of Buckingham.⁴ These measures were not only in conformity with the petition, but were positively required to give it efficacy and completeness. No opportunity of concession or concord

¹ Parl. Hist., vol. viii. p. 203.

² Rushworth, vol. i. p. 613.

³ The only plea advanced by the court lawyers against the conduct of the commons in this matter, worthy of notice, was founded on the iniquitous judgment of the court of exchequer in Bates's case during the last reign. But this plea had surely been barred by the resolutions I have so often named. Supposing it to be urged that the language of the petition was not sufficiently general to comprehend duties charged on merchandise at the outports, as well as internal taxes and exactions — an opinion which was strongly contested by Eliot — it is quite certain that the iniquitous application of the statutes in Bates's case, that grossest of instances of "judge-made law," was distinctly foreclosed. Tonnage and poundage, like other subsidies, could thereafter only spring from the free grant of the people.

⁴ This remonstrance, drawn up by Selden and Eliot, is extremely able. It is impossible, after reading it, to question its necessity. See Rushworth, vol. i. p. 619.

was withheld from Charles, but no distinct right was foreborne. The grand committees that were then sitting, on the various heads of religion, trade, grievances, and courts of justice, were ordered to sit no longer.¹ Every appearance of unnecessary opposition was carefully avoided.

But suddenly, in the midst of these measures, the commons were summoned by the king to the house of lords. After a long interview with the speaker, Charles had hurried there to close the session. "It may seem strange," he said, when they appeared at the bar, "that I come so suddenly to end this session before I give my assent to the bills. I will tell you the cause, though I must avow that I owe the account of my actions to God alone." This was a very proper commencement to his speech; for, after peevishly complaining of the remonstrance against Buckingham, he went on to inform them that he would have no interference with his rights over tonnage and poundage; and, further, that they had altogether misunderstood the petition of rights. "I have granted no new, but only confirmed the ancient liberties of my subjects." His concluding words were very remarkable. "As for tonnage and poundage, it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to ask, nor meant by me, I am sure, to grant. To conclude, I command you all that are here to take notice of what I have spoken at this time to be the true intent and meaning of what I granted you in your petition; but especially you, *my lords, the judges*, for to you only, under me, belongs the interpretation of laws."² Parliament was then prorogued to the 20th of the following October.

The patriot leaders separated, it may be supposed, with many gloomy forebodings. New miseries and oppressions were about to visit the people. Yet had this immortal session strengthened the people's hearts

¹ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 613.

² The reader, coupling this with Charles's previous consultation with the judges, will readily understand its significance.

for endurance, no less than it had sharpened their powers for resistance. The patriots had no cause to separate with any distrust of each other.

Eliot went immediately into Cornwall. I am fortunately enabled to follow him there. Among the manuscripts of sir Robert Cotton I have found a letter written to that learned antiquary some few days after his arrival. It is in many points of view interesting. It is a happy specimen of Eliot's style; and it proves, if such proof were wanting, that this great statesman had embraced the public cause with the deep fervour of a private passion.

" How acceptable your letters are," he writes, " and with what advantage they now come, I need not tell you ; when, besides the memorie of my owne losses (which can have no reparation like the assurance of your favour), I but acknowledge the ignorance of these partes, almoste as much divided from reason and intelligence as our island from the world. That the session is ended we are gladd, because to our understandinges it implies a concurrence in the generall, and intimates a contynuance of the parliament,— having not the notion of particulars by which we mighte compose ourselves to better judgment. The souldier, the mariner, the shippes, the seas, the horse, the foot, are to us no more than the stories of the poetts, either as thinges fabulous or unnescessarie, entertained now only for discourse or wonder, not with the apprehension of the least feare or doubt! Denmarke and the Sound are taken rather for wordes than meaninges ; and the greatnessse and ambition of Austria or Spain are to us a mere chimera. Rochell and Dunkirk are all one. What friends we have lost or what enemies we have gained (*more than that enemie which we have bredd ourselves*) is not soe much to us as the night shower or sunnes-shine ! nor can we thinke of anie thinge that is not present with us. What they doe in Suffolk with their sojourners wee care not, while there are none billeted on us ; and it is indifferent to our reasons, in the contestations which they have, whether the straunger or the

countryman prevaile. Onlie one thing gives us some remembraunce of our neighbours, which is the greate resorte of Irish dailie comminge over, whoo, though, they begg of us, wee doubte maie take from others, and in the end give us an ill recompense for our charitie. This is a bad character, I confesse, which I give you of my country, but such as it deserves. You onlie have power to make it appeare better, by the honor of your letters, which come nowhere without happinesse, and are a satisfaction for all wantes to me. Your affectionate servant, John Eliot.¹

Stirring events, however, soon reached Eliot in his retirement, such as must have moved even those stagnant waters, which he describes so well. The "self-bred" enemy of England was no more—Buckingham had fallen by the hand of an assassin.² But the service of despotism which the king had lost promised to be replaced by a more dangerous, because a more able, counsellor. Wentworth had gone over to the court.³ Weston, a creature of the late duke's, had been created lord treasurer. Other changes followed. Laud was made bishop of London, and, with Laud's

¹ Cottonian MSS. c. iii. p. 174.

² Very interesting notices of this event and the circumstances which followed it, will be found in the third volume of Ellis's Original Letters, pp. 256—292. Second edition. The funeral of the so brilliant duke was the most melancholy winding up of all. The king had designed a very grand one,—“ Nevertheless,” says Mead to Stuteville, “ the last night, at ten of the clock, his funeral was solemnised in as poor and confused a manner as hath been seen, marching from Wallingford House, over against Whitehall, to Westminster Abbey; there being not much above 100 mourners, who attended upon an empty coffin, borne upon six men's shoulders; the duke's corpse itself being there interred yesterday, as if it had been doubtful the people in their madness might have surprised it. But, to prevent all disorder, the train bands kept a guard on both sides of the way, all along from Wallingford House to Westminster Church, *beating up their drums loud, and carrying their pikes and muskets upon their shoulders, as in a march; not trailing them at their heels, as is usual at a mourning.* As soon as the coffin was entered the church, they came all away without giving any volley of shot at all. And this was the obscure catastrophe of that great man.”—Harl. MSS. 290.

³ Eliot, it may be presumed, was perfectly prepared for this event. The expression I have elsewhere used of Wentworth's having “basely abandoned” the popular cause, is somewhat hasty. I think I shall be able to show that he never in reality was attached to it. Pym appears to have thought so, but Eliot had watched more closely.

⁴ The memoir of Pym will be a more proper occasion than this for a detailed expression of the exact state of opinions in religion, and the nature of their influence on political questions.

elevation, arminianism reared its head formidably.⁴ Arminian prelates were the favourites of the court; the royal favour shone exclusively on arminian clergymen; and Montague, obnoxious as he had proved himself by the arminian tendency of his works, was raised to the bishopric of Chester. On this subject Eliot felt strongly. He had already from his place in the house of commons denounced the tendency of those arminian doctrines, whose essential principle he had justly described to be that of claiming for the king, as absolute head of the church, a power resembling the pope's infallibility,—an independent state supremacy—a power over the liberty and property of the subject. His acute perception had already detected in Laud that resolution towards new ceremonies in the protestant church which should raise her out of the apostolic simplicity to a worldly equality with the church of Rome; and in Laud's fervid sincerity on this point he saw the deepest source of danger. It was even now indeed in action, for further news soon arrived that Charles, as supreme governor of the church, had published an authorised edition of the articles containing the objectionable clause ("the church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and hath authority in matters of faith.") and with an order that no doctrine should be taught that differed from those articles, that all controversies respecting outward policy should be decided by the convocation, and that no man should presume to explain the article respecting justification contrary to its plain meaning, or to take it in any other than the literal and grammatical sense.¹ Nor was this all. The terrors of the Star Chamber and high commission had followed close upon Laud's new powers; and the cases of Burton, Prynne, and Gill, their zeal and their frightful sufferings, afflicted the country. The political application of these doctrines had received, at the same time, a fatal illustration in various flagrant violations of the petition of rights. A copy of the statute itself reached Cornwall, printed by the king's order (a shameless attempt at imposture,

¹ *Bibliotheca Regia*, 212. See Lingard's *History*, vol. ix. p. 403.

which is scarcely to be credited !), with the addition of his first and rejected answer. Tonnage and poundage had been recklessly levied. Richard Chambers, Samuel Vassal, and John Rolles, three distinguished merchants, the last named of whom was a member of the house of commons, had submitted to a seizure of their goods, rather than become parties to a violation of the public liberties, and the judges had refused them protection.¹ Such was the news that travelled day by day to the seat of sir John Eliot. To crown the whole, Richelieu, laying aside his hat for a helmet, had, by his personal appearance at Rochelle, finally reduced that ill-fated place and driven back the disgraced English fleet.²

But now, bad news having spent itself, the time fixed for the parliament approached. Eliot left his home, to which he was never to return, and hurried up to London.

Parliament met, having suffered an intermediate prorogation, on the 20th of January, 1628. The spirit with which they reassembled was evidenced by their very first movement. They revived every committee of grievance. Sir John Eliot then moved a call of the house for the 27th, when vital matters, he said, would be brought into discussion. It was further ordered, on his motion, that "Mr. Selden should see if the petition of rights, and his majesty's answer thereunto, were enrolled in the parliament rolls and courts at Westminster, and in what manner." Selden having reported, almost immediately after, the gross fraud that had been practised, Pym rose and moved an adjournment of the debate "by reason of the fewness of the house, many being not then come up." Sir John Eliot's conduct was characteristic. "Since this matter," he said "is now raised, it concerns the honour of the

¹ The conduct of the judges in this case showed how carefully they had attended to the significant suggestions of the king. "Vassal pleaded to the information the statute *de talio agio non concedendo*. The court of exchequer overruled his plea, and would not hear his counsel. Chambers sued out a replevin to recover possession of his goods, on the ground that a seizure for tonnage and poundage, without grant of parliament, was against law; but the writ was superseded by the court of exchequer."

² See History from Mackintosh, vol. v. p. 110.

house, and the liberties of the kingdom. It is true, it deserves to be deferred till a fuller house, but it is good to prepare things ; for I find this to be a point of great consequence. I desire, therefore, that a select committee may both enter into consideration of this, and also how other liberties of this kingdom have been invaded. I found, in the country, the *petition of rights* printed indeed, but with an answer that never gave any satisfaction. I desire a committee may consider thereof, and present it to the house ; and that the printer may be sent for, to be examined about it, and to declare by what warrant it was printed." Eliot's influence with the house was paramount ; what he proposed was instantly ordered, and the disgrace of the attempted imposition indelibly fixed upon the king.¹

Eliot followed up this blow. The seizure of the goods of Mr. Rolles came into question ; some attempt was made to narrow the inquiry ; and sir Robert Philips proposed to refer the matter to a committee. Sir John rose sharply. "Three things, sir," he said, "are involved in this complaint ; first, the right of the particular gentleman ; secondly, the right of the subject ; thirdly, the right and privilege of the house. Let the committee consider the two former ; but, for the violation of the liberties of this house, let us not do less than our fore-fathers. Was ever the information of a member committed to a committee ? *Let us send for the parties.* Is there not here a flat denial of the restitution of the goods ? Was it not also said that if all the parliament were contained in him, they would do as they did ? *Let them be sent for.*"² The sheriff of London, Acton, who seized the goods, was in consequence sent for, appeared at the bar on his knees, and was ordered to the Tower. The officers of the customs were, at the same time, punished.³

The fiery decision of Eliot had its usual effect upon the court. The king sent a message to the house to

¹ See Parliamentary Hist., vol. viii. pp. 245, 246. The proceedings of this session are but imperfectly reported in Rushworth's Collections.

² Parl. Hist., vol. viii. p. 255.

³ Parl. Hist., vol. viii. p. 257.

desire them to forbear all further proceedings until he should have addressed both houses next day at White-hall as he purposed. His speech was an entreaty that they should not be jealous of him, and an endeavour to impose upon them a self-evident absurdity—that he took tonnage and poundage, as a “ gift of the people,” but as a gift, forsooth, for his life, according to the custom of his predecessors; which he desired them, therefore, to embody in a bill, since they had no discretion to withhold it.¹ This speech was not noticed by the commons.

The 27th of January, the day fixed for the call of the house on Eliot’s motion, arrived. The house was in debate on religious grievances. I have already alluded to the encouragement given to arminianism by the court, and to the justifiable alarm it had been viewed with by the popular party. Sir John Eliot’s present purpose was to break the power of Laud, and to this full house he now presented himself in all the confidence of an eloquence which worked its greatest influence on minds of the greatest order, which could sway them at will to high excitement or wrap them in deepest admiration. The reader will perceive with what a sober dignity the opening passages of this speech are conceived.

“ Sir,” he began, taking advantage of a rest in the debate which had been caused by Mr. Coriton, “ I have always observed, in the proceedings of this house, our best advantage is in order; and I was glad when that noble gentleman, my countryman, gave occasion to stay our proceedings; for I feared they would have carried us into a sea of confusion and disorder. And now having occasion to present my thoughts to you in this great and weighty business of religion, I shall be bold to give a short expression of my own affection; and in that order that, I hope, will conduce best to the effecting of that work, and direct our labour to an end. To enter, sir, into a particular disquisition of the writings and opinions of divines, I fear it would involve us in a labyrinth that we shall hardly get out of; and perchance hinder that way, and darken that path, in which we must tread. Before

¹ Parl. Hist., vol. viii. p. 255. Rushworth, vol. i. n. 64.

we know, however, what other men have declared, it is necessary that we should presently ourselves lay down what is truth. I presume, we came not hither to dispute of religion. Far be it from the thoughts of that church that hath so long time confessed it, now to dispute it. Shall posterity think we have enjoyed our religion fourscore years almost, and are we now doubtful of the defence? God forbid. It may be, however, sir, and out of some things lately delivered I have not unnecessarily collected, that there is a jealousy conceived, as if we meant so to deal with matters of faith, that did not perhaps belong unto us, as to dispute of matters of faith. It is our profession. They are not to be disputed. Neither will that truth be receded from, this long time held. Nor is that truth decayed. It is confirmed by parliament, because it was truth. And this, sir, before I come to deliver myself more particularly, give me leave, that have not yet spoken in this great cause, to give some apprehension I have of fear; for it is not in the parliament to make a new religion, neither, I hope, shall it be in any to alter the body of that truth which we now profess."

Eliot now alluded to the declaration which I have already described as published in the king's name, but which had issued from the hand of Laud. "I must confess, sir, amongst all those fears we have contracted, there ariseth to me not one of the least dangers in the declaration, which is made and published in his majesty's name: and yet, sir, this conclusion exclusively let me state, that I may not be mistaken,—whatever in this, or other things, shall appear to make mention of his majesty, we have not the least suspicion of jealousy of him. I hope it is by those ministers about him, which not only he, but all princes are subject to." The speaker then adduced various precedents which covertly aimed at Laud. "As it was in that," he continued, "so it may be in this. I speak to this end to draw it to this conclusion, that if there be any thing that carrieth the title of his majesty, it may be the fault of his ministers. Far be it from me to have suspicion of him. And now to

that particular, in that declaration ; wherein, I confess with me, is an apprehension of more fear than I have of all the rest ; for in the last particulars we heard what is said of popery and arminianism. It is true our faith and religion have before been in danger ; but it was by degrees. Here, sir, like an inundation, it doth break in at once. We are in danger at once to be ruined and overwhelmed. For, I beseech you mark, the ground of our religion is contained in these articles. If there be any difference of opinions concerning the sense and interpretation of them, the bishops and clergy in convocation have a power admitted to them here to do any thing which shall concern the continuance and maintenance of the truth professed ; which truth being contained in these articles, and these articles being different in the sense, if there be any dispute about that, it will be in them to order which way they please ; and, for aught I know, popery and arminianism may be a sense introduced by them, and then it must be received. Is this a slight thing, that the power of religion must be drawn to the persons of those men ? I honour their profession and honour their persons ; but, give me leave to say, the truth we profess is not men's, but God's ; and God forbid that men should be made to judge of that truth !"

This passage wrought upon the house ; and Eliot, throwing out a sarcasm with his usual skill and effect, thus continued :— "I remember a character I have seen in a diary of Edward VI., that young prince of famous memory, wherein he doth express the condition of the bishops and clergy in his time, and saith, under his own handwriting, ' that some for sloth, some for ignorance, some for luxury, and some for popery, are unfit for discipline and government.' Sir, I hope, it is not so with us ; nay, give me leave to vindicate the honour of those men that openly show their hearts to the truth. There are amongst our bishops such as are fit to be made examples to all ages, who shine in virtue, like those two faithful witnesses in heaven, of whom we may use that eulogy which Seneca did of Caius — that to their memories and merits, ' Nec hoc quidem obstet

quod nostris temporibus nati sint ;' and to whose memory and merit I may use the saying, that the others' faults are no prejudice to their virtues ; who are so industrious in their works, that I hope posterity shall know there are men that are firm for the truth. But, sir, that all now are not so free, sound, and orthodox in religion as they should be, witness the men complained of — and you know what power they have. Witness those men nominated lately — Mr. Montague, for instance. I reverence the order ; I honour not the man. Others may be named as bad. I apprehend such fear that, should it be in their power, we may be in danger to have our whole religion overthrown.

" But," Eliot exclaimed, as he saw the excitement rising in the house, " I give this for testimony, and thus far do express myself against all the power and opposition of these men ! Whensoever any opposition shall be, I trust we shall maintain the religion we profess, for in that we have been born and bred—nay, sir, if cause be, in that I hope to die ! Some of these, sir, you know, are *masters of ceremonies*, and they labour to introduce new *ceremonies* in the church. Some *ceremonies* are useful : Give me leave to join in one that I hold necessary and commendable,— that at the repetition of the creed we should stand up to testify the resolution of our hearts, that we would defend that religion we profess. In some churches it is added that *they did not only stand upright with their bodies, but with their swords drawn !* and if cause were, I hope, to defend our prince, country, and religion, we should draw our swords against all opposers !"¹

This speech, it has been remarked, was a light that fell into a well laid train. Its result was a "vow," made on the journals, that "the Commons of England claimed, professed, and avowed for truth, that sense of the articles of religion which were established in parliament in the 13th year of queen Elizabeth, which, by the public acts of the church of England, and

¹ Part Hist., vol. viii. p. 268.

by the general and current exposition of the writers of that church, had been declared unto them ; and that they rejected the sense of the Jesuits, Arminians, and of all others, wherein they differed from it.”¹ Eliot did not fail to follow up this advantage. Some days afterwards he fastened upon Laud by name. “ In this Laud,” he exclaimed, “ is contracted all the danger that we fear ! and I doubt not but that his majesty, being informed thereof, will leave him to the justice of this house.”² His majesty, meanwhile, was sending message after message to hasten the tonnage and poundage bill, every one of which, with admirable skill, was foiled by Eliot and his friends.³ In vain the king continued his messages. Those were commands, they replied, and commands were inconsistent with their privileges. “ The heart-blood of the commonwealth,” added Eliot, “ receiveth life from the privileges of this house.”⁴

The question of religion surrendered to a sub-committee,—the popular leaders had engaged themselves in a conclusion of the inquiry into the seizure of merchants’ goods, with a view to the prevention of such future wrongs, by the infliction of some stringent punishment on the delinquents concerned in the present. The chancellor of the dutchy threatened the displeasure of the king, and a close to the parliament. Eliot, cutting short his threat, quietly observed, “ The question, sir, is, whether we shall first go to the restitution, or to the point of delinquency. Some now raise up difficulties, in opposition to the point of delinquency, and talk of breach of parliaments. And other fears I met with, both in this and elsewhere. Take heed you fall not on a rock. I am confident to avoid this would be somewhat difficult, were it not

¹ Rushworth, vol. i. p. 619; Journals, Jan. 29. The 13th of Elizabeth was selected, because the legislature had then ordered the clergy to subscribe the articles, and to read them in the churches, yet neither the English nor the Latin edition of that year contained the clause respecting the authority of the ministers of the church.

² Parl. Hist., vol. viii. p. 254.

³ Evidences of this will be found throughout the debates. On one occasion poor old secretary Cooke fell under a sharp rebuke from Eliot, and narrowly escaped a heavier censure. Parl. Hist., vol. viii. p. 278.

⁴ Parl. Hist., vol. viii. p. 311.

for the goodness and justice of the king. But let us do that which is just, and his goodness will be so clear that we need not mistrust. Let those terrors that are threatened us, light on them that make them. Why should we fear the justice of a king when we do that which is just? Let there be no more memory or fear of breaches; and let us now go to the delinquency of those men. That is the only way to procure satisfaction."¹ Upon this the king sent word that *he* was the delinquent, for that what the accused did, "was by his own direct orders and command."² This brought matters to a crisis, and the house adjourned itself for two days.

On the 25th of February, when they reassembled, the committee of religion had concluded its report, and a long list of formidable charges, levelled against Laud, was agreed to be presented to the king. The question of the king's offence against the privileges of the house, in the seizure he had avowed, was thus judiciously avoided,—yet an opportunity given to Charles, by *some* redemption of the recently violated liberties, of receiving from the patriot leaders, without betrayal of their trust, a power of raising new subsidies. The king showed his appreciation of this conduct by sending an instant command to both houses to adjourn to Monday, the 2d of March.³

Eliot now saw what was intended, and prepared for it with a fearless composure. He drew up a remonstrance concerning tonnage and poundage. In this able document, nothing that is essential to a just opinion of the conduct of the Commons respecting the bill that had been proposed, is omitted. The delay is shown to have been necessary, and the purposes of the leaders of the house are nobly vindicated. It concludes with a solemn statement, that "the commons had so framed a grant of subsidy of tonnage and poundage to your majesty, that you might have been the better enabled for the defence of your realm, and your subjects, by being secured from

¹ Pari. Hist., vol. viii. p. 317.

² Pari. Hist., vol. viii. p. 318.

³ Pari. Hist., vol. viii. p. 336. Rushworth, vol. i. p. 660.

all undue charges, be the more encouraged cheerfully to proceed in their course of trade; but not being, now, able to accomplish this their desire, there is no course left unto them, without manifest breach of their duty both to your majesty and their country, save only to make this humble declaration, that the receiving of tonnage and poundage, and other impositions not granted by parliament, is a breach of the fundamental liberties of this kingdom, and of your majesty's royal answer to the petition of rights."¹ Eliot, at the same time, drew up three articles of protestation, which ran thus:—"1. Whoever shall bring in innovation in religion, or by favour seek to extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the true and orthodox church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth. 2. Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking and levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth. 3. If any merchant or other person whatsoever shall voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by parliament; he shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the liberty of England, and an enemy to the same."²

With these documents sir John Eliot entered the house of commons on the morning of the 2d of March 1629, *for the last time*.

He waited only till prayers had been said, and then arose. For the last time, on that fatal day, this great statesman struck, with daring eloquence, *at* a profligate courtier and a dishonest churchman. "Buckingham is dead," he said, "but he lives in the bishop of Winchester and my lord treasurer Weston!" (Weston, it was understood, had been a party to the dis-

¹ Parl. Hist., vol. viii. p. 327.; and see the information afterwards exhibited in the Star Chamber. Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 665, 693.

² Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 660 and 666.

astrous advice by which, Eliot had anticipated too surely, they were now about to be dissolved. "In the person of the lord treasurer," the orator continued, amidst the interruptions of some, and the enthusiastic cheering of others, — "in his person all evil is contracted, for the innovation of religion, and for the invasion of our liberties. He is the great enemy of the commonwealth. I have traced him in all his actions, and I find him building on those grounds laid by his master, the great duke. He, secretly, is moving for this interruption. From fear, these men go about to break parliaments, lest parliaments should break them." Eliot concluded, as if by a forecast of the future, with these memorable words. "*I protest, as I am a gentleman, if my fortune be ever again to meet in this honourable assembly, where I now leave, I will begin again!*"¹ Advancing to the speaker, sir John Eliot then produced his remonstrance, and desired that he would read it. The speaker refused. He presented it to the clerk at the table. The clerk also refused. With fearless determination Eliot now read the remonstrance himself, and demanded of the speaker, as a right, that he should put it to the vote. Again the speaker refused. "He was commanded otherwise by the king." A severe reprimand followed from Selden, and the speaker rose to quit the chair. Denzil Hollis and Valentine dragged him back. Sir Thomas Edmonds and other privy councillors made an attempt to rescue him, but "with a strong hand" he was held down in the chair, and Hollis swore he should sit still, till it pleased them to rise. The house was now in open and violent disorder. The speaker weepingly implored them to let him go; and sir Peter Hayman in reply renounced him for his kinsman;—as the disgrace of his country, the blot of a noble family, and a man whom posterity would remember with scorn and disdain. Every moment increased the disorder, till at last it threatened the most serious consequences. Some members, involuntarily, placed their

¹ *Parl. Hist.* vol. viii. p. 335.

hands upon their swords. Above the throng was again heard the voice of the steady and undaunted Eliot. "I shall then express by my tongue what that paper should have done!" He flung it down upon the floor, and placed the protestations I have described into the hands of Hollis. "It shall be declared by us," he exclaimed, "that all that we suffer is the effect of new counsels, to the ruin of the government of the state. Let us make a protestation against those men, whether greater or subordinate, that may hereafter persuade the king to take tonnage and poundage, without grant of parliament. We declare them capital enemies to the king and the kingdom! If any merchants shall willingly pay those duties, without consent of parliament, they are declared accessories to the rest!" Hollis instantly read Eliot's paper, put it to the house in the character of speaker, and was answered by tremendous acclamations. During this, the king had sent the serjeant to bring away the mace, but he could not obtain admission; and the usher of the black rod had followed, with the same ill success. In an extremity of rage, Charles then sent for the captain of his guard to force an entrance. But a later and yet more disastrous day was reserved for that outrage; for, meanwhile, Eliot's resolutions having been passed, the doors were thrown open, and the members rushed out in a body, carrying a king's officer that was standing at the entrance "away before them in the crowd."¹ Such was the scene of Monday the 2d of March 1629, "the most gloomy, sad, and dismal day for England, that had happened for 500 years."²

The king instantly went down to the house of lords,

¹ I state this on the authority of a MS. letter in the Sloane collection, (4178). The writer adds, "It is said that a Welsh page, hearing a great noise in the house, cried out, 'I pray you let hur in! let hur in! to give hur master his sword, for they are all a fighting.'" Letter to Paul D'Ewes, dated March 5, 1628.

² MS. diary of Sir Symonds D'Ewes. For the various accounts of this remarkable scene, from which I have drawn the above description, see Rushworth, vol. i. p. 600.; Parl. Hist., vol. viii. pp. 326—331. See also the information lodged against Eliot in the Star Chamber (Rushworth, p. 665.), and the proceedings on the subsequent information in the King's

called the leaders of the commons "vipers" who should have their rewards, and dissolved the parliament.¹

Two days afterwards, sir John Eliot received a summons to appear before the council table. This memorable scene closed his public life, and closed it worthily. He was asked "whether he had not spoken such and such words in the lower house of parliament, and showed unto the said house such and such a paper?" Keenly and resolutely he answered, "that whatsoever was said or done by him in that place, and at that time, was performed by him as a public man and a member of that house; and that he was, and always will be, ready to give an account of his sayings and doings in that place, whosoever he should be called unto it by that house, where, as he taketh it, it is only to be questioned; and, in the meantime, being now but a private man, he would not trouble himself to remember what he had either spoken or done in that place, as a public man." He was instantly committed; his study was entered by the king's warrant, and his papers seized.²

Much time elapsed before his case was finally adjudged. I will present, however, in as few words as possible, the course of the proceedings that were taken. I am able to illustrate it by the help of letters of the time.

Eliot sued for his *habeas corpus*. An answer was

Bench: *State Trials*, vol. iii.; or *Rushworth*, vol. i. pp. 679—691. The examinations before the council table (*Parl. Hist.*, vol. viii. p. 353.) will be found highly interesting. Sir Miles Hobart said, "He would not stick to confess that it was he that shut the door that day; and when he had locked the door, put the key in his pocket [and he did it because the house demanded it]." Denzil Hollis, finding "his majesty was now offended with him, humbly desired that he might rather be the subject of his mercy than of his power." To which the lord treasurer answered, "You mean rather of his majesty's mercy than of his justice." Mr. Hollis replied, "I say of his majesty's power, my lord."

¹ *Parl. Hist.*, vol. viii. p. 331.; and see *Whitelocke's Memorials*, p. 13. "I must needs say," observed the king, "that they do mistake me wonderfully, that think I lay the fault equally upon all the lower house; for as I know there are many as dutiful and loyal subjects as any are in the world, so I know that it was only some vipers amongst them that had cast this mist of difference before their eyes."

² *Rushworth*, vol. i. p. 661. The same was done with the studies of Sedden and Hollis.

returned in the shape of a general warrant, under the king's sign manual. The insufficiency of this return was so clearly shown by Eliot's counsel in the course of the argument, that the judges, "timid and servile, yet desirous to keep some measures with their own consciences, or looking forward to the wrath of future parliaments," wrote what Whitelocke calls a "humble and stout letter¹" to the king, stating that they were bound to bail Eliot, but requesting that he would send his directions to do so. This letter was not attended to; the judges in consequence deferred the time for judgment; and Eliot was continued in custody. When the day at last arrived that judgment could no longer be deferred, the body of Eliot was not forthcoming. In vain his counsel called for judgment; the judges, in the absence of the prisoner, declined. Eliot had been removed by the king's warrant, the evening before the meeting of the court, from the custody of the keeper to whom his writ had been addressed! Some days after, however, Charles consented that he should be brought up for admission to bail, on condition that he presented a petition declaring he was sorry he had offended. The condition was spurned at once. The offer was repeated by the judges; but Eliot "would do nothing, but resolutely move for his habeas corpus. Whereat one of the judges said, 'Comes he to outface the court?'" and the severity of his imprisonment was ordered to be increased.² Some months passed away, and the question still remained unsettled. Charles then offered Eliot his privilege of bail, if he would give sureties for good behaviour. Eliot at once declared in answer, that he would never admit the possibility of offending the law by liberty of speech in parliament.

¹ Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 14. The conduct of the judges was execrable; and notwithstanding the efforts of Whitelocke to exculpate his father, judge Whitelocke, (in which he succeeded with the Long Parliament,) it is impossible to discern a material difference between him and the rest.

² Sloane, MSS. 4178. Various striking accounts of the proceedings, as they affected all the prisoners, will be found in this volume—one of those transcribed by Dr. Birch,—especially under dates June 10., June 25., June 28., and October 15. 1622. See also p. 92 of the same volume.

The judges are described upon this to have suggested to him the possibility of his remaining in prison even seven years longer.¹ He answered that he was quite prepared; his body would serve to fill up the breach that was made in the public liberties as well as any other. The king now showed himself equally resolute; and, refusing an enormous sum that had been offered for his bail², ordered the attorney-general to drop the proceedings in the Star Chamber, and to exhibit an information against him in the King's Bench for words spoken in parliament. As member of a superior court at the period of the alleged offence, he pleaded to the jurisdiction, and thus brought in issue the great question of the privilege of the house of commons, — the question, in point of fact, upon which the character of "the English constitution" altogether depended. The battle was fought bravely by his counsel, but vainly. The court held that they had jurisdiction; Eliot refused to put in any other plea; and judgment was finally given, that he "should be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, should not be released without giving surety for good behaviour and making submission, and, as the greatest offender and ringleader in parliament, should be fined in £2000."³

This iniquitous judgment found Eliot cheerfully prepared. He immediately sent to the lieutenant of the Tower "to provide him a convenient lodging, that he might send his upholsterer to trim it up." On being told of the fine, he smiled, and said, "that he had two cloaks, two suits, two pair of boots and gashes; and if they could pick 2000*l.* out of that, much good might it do them." (I have already mentioned the course he had taken to provide for the worldly welfare

¹ Letter, dated 15th of October.

² It is said by Mr. D'Israeli, on a private authority, that 10,000*l.* had been offered. This was vast indeed. Mr. D'Israeli doubts, however (Commentaries, vol. ii. p. 281.), whether any bail could be tendered, since Eliot was condemned to be imprisoned at the king's pleasure. Mr. D'Israeli forgets that the bail was tendered during the proceedings, and not at their close.

³ The arguments will be found in the State Trials, vol. iii.; and in Rushworth, vol. i. p. 673—691. The judgment was reversed by the Long Parliament.

of his sons. His extensive estates were at present held by relatives in trust for their use.¹) "When I was first committed close prisoner to the Tower," he added, "a commission was directed to the high sheriff of Cornwall, and five other commissioners, my capital enemies, to inquire into my lands and goods, and to seize upon them for the king; but they returned a nihil."² I could multiply the evidences of his easy, and even gay, humour at this moment. He is described, for instance, to have "laughed heartily" at receiving a message from the judges complaining of the "misbehaviour of his page and servant, who, with others, had been tossing dogs and cats in a blanket, in the open street of Southwark, near the King's Bench prison, saying, 'We are judges of these creatures, and why should not we take our pleasure upon them, as well as other judges upon our master?'" After some short delays, he was conducted to the Tower, where he had twice before undergone imprisonment, and from which he never stirred again. A man named Dudson, the under-marshal of the King's Bench, who guarded him there, appears to have considered his person the peculiar property of a dungeon. "Mr. lieutenant," he said, on delivering

¹ Boscowen was one of the trustees. A letter to him, written by Eliot during his imprisonment, is preserved among the Eliot MSS. (fol. 56.), and sets this beyond a doubt. "Having a great confidence in your worth, as I find you to have been selected by my father-in-law, I have presumed also for myself to name you in a trust for the management of that poor fortune which, through the disturbances of these times, I may not call my own. Your trouble will only be for the sealing of some leases now and then, upon compositions of my tenants; for which, as there is occasion, I have appointed this bearer, my servant, Maurice Hill, to attend you, to whom your dispatch in that behalf shall be a full satisfaction of the trust." Sir John continued, nevertheless, as this extract intimates, to manage his pecuniary affairs himself as long as he was able, and in the early part of his imprisonment he arranged with his own hand many of his tenants' leases. He was liberal in acts of kindness, and strict in matters of justice. He grants his eldest son 200*l.* a year for the expenses of travelling abroad, a very large allowance; and writes back his opinion on a request from one of his tenants to have a wall rebuilt, to which he (Sir John) was not liable. "There would be more charity than wisdom in this." Maurice Hill was an invaluable servant to Sir John in these extremities, and deserved the kindness with which the latter often subscribes himself "your loving master." Mr. D'Israeli has given these interesting circumstances from Lord Eliot's admirable communication. See *Commentaries*, vol. iv. p. 507, et seq.

² I have derived the above from a letter in the Sloane collection. Mead to Stuteville, dated Feb. 27. 1629-30.

Eliot, "I have brought you this worthy knight, whom I borrowed of you some few months ago, and now do repay him again."¹

A "convenient lodging" had not been prepared. The only accommodation that could be had was "a darke and smoaky room." But he was not denied the use of books, and writing materials were, upon his earnest solicitation, granted to him. Some of the letters written at this period from his dungeon have fortunately been preserved.² A great philosophical work, on which he employed himself, has also come down to us.³ These present sir John Eliot, in this last scene of all, not simply unshrinking in fortitude, true to himself, magnanimous, and patient. All this he was;—but something yet greater than this. It would seem certain that, soon after his imprisonment, a secret feeling possessed him that his active life had closed. He did not acknowledge it to himself distinctly, but it is not the less apparent. Daily, under his confinement, his body was sinking. Daily, as his body sank, his soul asserted independent objects and uses. "Not alone," says the poet, whose genius has just risen amongst us⁴—

" Not alone when life flows still do truth
And power emerge, but also when strange chance
Affects its current; in unused conjuncture
Where sickness breaks the body — hunger, watching,
Excess, or languor — oftenest death's approach —
Peril, deep joy, or woe."

and now, as death approached Eliot—for, from the first month of his present imprisonment, it approached with the steadiest and surest step—a new world revealed itself, to be rescued and regenerated by his virtue; a new tyranny to conquer, which needed not the physical aid that had deserted him in his struggle with the old; a new government to establish which was within the control and accomplishment of all;—"the monarchy of

¹ Mead to Stuteville, March 13, 1629-30.

² Among the Eliot family papers.

³ It may be seen in the Harleian collection, No. 2228.

⁴ The author of *Paracelsus*, Mr. Robert Browning. There would be little danger in predicting that this writer will soon be acknowledged as a first-rate poet. He has already proved himself one.

man." He resolved to occupy the hours of his imprisonment with a work that should have for its object the establishment of the independence of man's mind ; of its power over the passions and weaknesses of humanity, of its means of wresting these to the purposes of its own government ; — the illustration of the greatest good that could be achieved on earth, man's monarchy over himself, a perfect and steady self-control. Such a plan, while it embraced the lofty thoughts that now sought freedom from his over-informed and sinking body, would enable him also to vindicate the course he had pursued in his day of strength and vigour ; and, in leaving to his countrymen, finally, an unyielded purpose, an unquailing endurance, a still unmitigated hatred of oppression, would teach them, at the same time, that these great qualities had victories of their own to achieve, in which no worldly power could foil them ; and that, supposing the public struggles of the time attended with disastrous issue, it was not for man, with his inherent independence, to admit the possibility of despair. If greater virtue, and beauty, and general perfectness of character, have at any time, in any age or country, been illustrated, I have yet to learn when, and by whom.

These thoughts and purposes of Eliot soon broke upon his friends. Hampden was watching his imprisonment with the most anxious solicitude. It is one proof of the virtuous character of this great man having already dawned, that Eliot had entrusted to him the care of his two sons. Soon after the commencement of his imprisonment, Hampden, who discharged this duty with affectionate zeal, received from Eliot a long letter of advice and counsel for them, which sufficiently indicated the studies that already engaged himself. The opening of it shows the last lingering of the struggle which was soon to settle to a perfect composure.¹ "Sonns," he begins, "if my desires had been valuable

¹ All the extracts from letters that follow, unless otherwise specified, are from the Eliot family papers, already referred to.

for one hour, I had long since written to you — which, in little, does deliver a large character of my fortune, that in nothing has allowed me to be master of myself. I have formerly been prevented by employment, which was so tyrannical on my time, as all minutes were anticipated ; now my leisure contradicts me, and is soe violent on the contrary, soe great an enemy to all action, as it makes itself unuseful ;—both leisure and business have opposed me either in time or libertie, that I have had no means of expression but my praiers, in which I have never failed to make God the witness of my love, whose blessings I doubt not will deduce it in some evidence to you. And now having gotten a little opportunity (though by stealth), I cannot but give it some testimony from myself, and let you see my dearest expectation in your good." He goes on to say with what delight he will always hear "of the progress of your learning, of your aptness and diligence in that, of your careful attendance in all exercises of religion, and the instruction and improvements of your minds, which are foundations of a future building." Some of the philosophy of his own life he then presents to them. "It is a fine history, well studied, — the observation of ourselves." He describes to them the many evils he has endured, the continuity of his sufferings, "of which there is yet no end. Should those evils," he continues, "be complained ? Should I make lamentation of these crosses ? Should I conceave the worse of my condition in the study of myself that my adversities oppose me ? Noe ! I may not — (and yet I will not be so stoical as not to think them evils, I will not do that prejudice to virtue by detraction of her adversaries). They are evils, for I doe confess them, but of that nature and soe followed, soe neighbouring upon good, as they are noe cause of sorrow, but of joy ; seeing whose enemies they make us,—enemies of fortune, enemies of the world, enemies of their children ; and knowing for whom we suffer,—for him that is their enemy, for him that can command them whose agents only and instruments they

are to work his trials on us, which may render us more perfect and acceptable to himself. Should these enforce a sorrow, which are the true touches of his favour, and not affect us rather with the higher apprehension of our happiness? Amongst my many obligations to my Creator, which prove the infinity of his mercies that like a full stream have been always flowing on me, there is none concerning this life, wherein I have found more pleasure or advantage, than in these trialls and afflictions (and I may not limit it soe narrowly within the confines of this life which I hope shall extend much further), —the operations they have had, the new effects they worke, the discoveries they make upon ourselves, upon others, upon all." Nobly and beautifully he subjoins, " This happiness in all my trials has never parted from me. How great then is his favour by whose means I have enjoyed it! The days have all seemed pleasant, nor nights have ever been tedious, nor fears nor terrors have possest me,—but a constant peace and tranquillity of the mind, whose agitation has been chiefly in thanks and acknowledgments to him by whose grace I have subsisted, and shall yet I hope participate of his blessings upon you. I have the more enlarged myself in this, that you might have a right view of the condition which I suffer, least from a bye relation, as through a perspective not truly representing, some false sence might be contracted. Neither could I think that altogether unusefull for your knowledge which may afford you both precept and example. Consider it, weigh it duly, and when you find a signe or indication of some error, make it an instruction how to avoid the like; if there appears but the resemblance of some virtue, suppose it better, and make it a president for yourselves; when you meet the prints and footsteps of the almighty, magnify the goodness of his providence and miracles that makes such low descents; consider that there is a nature turns all sweetness into venom, when from the bitterest hearbs the bee extracts a honie. Industry and the habit of the soule give the effect and operation upon

all things, and that to one seems barren and unpleasant to another is made fruitfull and delightsome. Even in this, by your application and endeavour, I am confident may be found both pleasure and advantage. This comes only as a testimony of my love (and soe you must accept it, the time yielding noe other waie of demonstration), and by this expression know that I daily praiere for your happiness and felicity as the chief subject of my wishes, and shall make my continual supplication to the Lord, that from the riches of his mercie he will give you such influence of his graces as your blessing and prosperitie may satisfy, and enlarge the hopes and comforts of your most affectionate father."

This is the nature which turns venom into sweetness. Hampden hastens to assure him that the present conduct of his sons is all he could desire. "If ever you live," he writes, "to see a fruite answerable to the promise of the present blossoms, it will be a blessing of that weight as will turn the scale against all worldly afflictions, and denominate your life happy." His affection had spoken with too generous a haste. The elder son, John Eliot, who had been sent, by his father's desire, to Oxford, fell into many irregularities, and greatly offended the superiors of his college.¹ This was afterwards only slightly intimated to his father, but it cost him much pain. The younger boy, Richard Eliot, remained at Hampden's seat, and pursued his studies under Hampden's care. He appears to have interested his illustrious tutor extremely. Delicately, however, Hampden is obliged to intimate to his friend, at last, that even Richard is somewhat remiss in his studies. Eliot immediately writes to the boy. He begins by a slight reproach for his not having written to his father, "I had no little doubt, after so long a silence, where you were, or whether you were or no." He desires him to forego the temptations of his young acquaintance; to

¹ This youth afterwards, as I have already noticed, "ran off" with a ward in chancery. He became, ultimately, a hanger-on in the court of Charles II. Evelyn mentions him.

forego, indeed, all society for the present, "that *esca malorum*, as Cicero calls it," and to retire wholly to himself. "Virtue," he continues, "is more rigid than to be taken with delights; these vanities she leaves, for these she scorns herself; her paths are arduous and rough, but excellent, and pleasant to those who once have past them. Honour is a concomitant they have to entertain them in their journey, nay it becomes their servant, and, what is attended by all others, those who travel in that way have it to wait on them. And this effort of virtue has not, as in the vulgar acceptation; its dwelling on a hill; it crowds not in the multitude, but *extra conspectum*, as Seneca says, beyond the common prospect." He illustrates this further by some quotations from his favourite Tacitus. That there was no pedantry in this habit is proved by such familiar resort to it in an affectionate advice to his boy. At this time, indeed, as I shall presently show, he was living in the world of the illustrious thinkers of old, and had entitled himself to it as his own. He concludes his letter with the following eloquent and earnest remonstrance: "How comes it that your tutor should complain you are careless and remiss? It cannot be, when there is true affection, there should be indilige[n]ce and neglect; when studie is declined the desires are alienated from the virtue; for no ends are attained without the means, and the neglect of that shows a diversion from the other. If it be since my last, I must resume my fears, that though your own judgment did not guide you, my cautions should be lost. If it should be hereafter, when that advise, those reasons, and the commands and authority of a father (a father most indulgent to the happiness of his child), which I now give you,—to redeem the time is spent, to redeem the studies you have missed, and to redeem yourself who are ingaged to danger, or that hazard and adventure,—if these make no impressions, and these must be read in the characters of your course; if they work not an alteration; if they cause not a new diligence and intention; an intention of yourself, and in-

tention of the object, virtue ; an intention of the means, your study, and an exact intention of the time to improve it to that end ;—I shall then receive that wound, which I thank God no enemy could give me, sorrow and affliction of the mind, and that from him from whom I hoped the contrary. But I still hope, and the more confidently for the promise which your letters have assured me. Let it be bettered in performance by your future care and diligence, which shall be accompanied with the prayers and blessings of your most loving father.

Ultimately Eliot, having been much entreated to it by his son John, consents that he shall go abroad, and writes to Hampden mentioning this, adding his desire, that, before the youth's departure, he should endeavour to obtain his " licence," or degree, at Oxford. He forwards at the same time a letter of advice and instruction, respecting a course and object in travel. He is particular in his directions as to the places to be visited, in what order, and with what purpose. He shows in this a lively knowledge of the state of politics on the Continent. " Be careful," he urges in conclusion, " in your religion, make your devotions frequent, seeke the blessing from above, drawe your imitation to goode patternes, lett not vaine pedantries deceive you, prepare your estimation by your virtue, which your own carriage and example must acquire, wherein you have assistants in the most earnest prayers and wishes of your loving father." In the same communication to Hampden, Eliot sends an expression of his views respecting his younger son, Richard. He considers that the best mode of employing with a good purpose his quick and vivacious humour, will be to send him to the Netherlands, to learn the art of war, in the company of sir Horace Vere. A passage from Hampden's reply on these points, which is charmingly written, will properly close this subject. " I am so perfectly acquainted," he says, " with yr cleare insight into the dispositions of men, and ability to fitt them with courses suitable, that had you bestowed sonnes

of mine as you have done yr owne, my judgm^t durst hardly have called it into question, especially when in laying downe yr designe you have prevented the objections to be made ag^t it: for if Mr. Richard Eliot will, in the intermissions of action, adde study to practice, and adorne that lively spiritt with flowers of contemplation, he'll raise our expectations of another sir Edward [Horace] Vere, that had this character, all summer in the field, all winter in his study,' in whose fall fame makes this kingdome a great looser: and having taken this resolution from counsaile with the Highest Wisdom (as I doubt not but you have), I hope and pray the same Power will crown it with a blessing answerable to your wish."

It is a great privilege to be thus admitted to the private thoughts and conduct of such men as Eliot and Hampden. The secret of their public exertions is here expressed. It is by the strength and right direction of the private affections, that we are taught the duty of serving mankind. The more intense the faculty of enjoyment and comfort in the narrow circle of family regards, the more readily is its indulgence sacrificed in behalf of the greater family of man. The severity of Eliot in the house of commons is explained by the tender sweetness of these letters from the Tower.

Without a hope of release, Eliot's imprisonment continued. The whole county of Cornwall, I learn from a manuscript letter, petitioned the king for his freedom¹, but no answer was deigned. Sustained by the genius of Wentworth, Charles's tyranny was now open and undisguised; and, in a royal proclamation, he had forbidden even the name of parliament to pass the lips of

¹ Mead to Stuteville, Sept. 26, 1629. MS. letter. Nor was Eliot without the sympathy of men of learning, correspondents of sir Robert Cotton, in London, at the universities, and on the Continent. "I should gladly heare some cheerful news of sir John Eliot," writes the learned Richard James. "Will the tide never turn? Then God send us heaven at our last end!" Nor is it to be supposed that any possible exertion was wanting on the part of his friends. Sir Bevill Grenville, in a letter to his wife, "his best friend, the lady Grace Grenville," speaks of Eliot, as "being resolved to have him out of his imprisonment." (*Nugent's Memorials.*) Every exertion failed.

the people.¹ Eliot was not even suffered to remain quietly in his wretched lodging. He was removed from place to place, each one as "darke and smoaky" as the first. "The lodging which I had upon my first remove before Christmas," he writes to sir Oliver Luke, "being again altered, I may saie of my lodgings in the Tower as Jacob for his wages, 'Now, then, ten times have they chaunged it;' but, I thank God, not once has it caused an alteration of my mind — so infinite is that mercie which has hitherto protected mee, and I doubt not but I shall find it with mee." He concludes by referring to some "light papers" which seem to have engaged him in the intervals of his greater work. "When you have wearied your good thoughts with those light papers that I sent you, return them with the corrections of your judgment. I may one day send you others of more worth, if it please God to continue me this leisure and my health, but the best can be but broken, and in patches from him that dares not hazard to gather them. Such thinges, from me, falling like the leaves in autumn soe variously and uncertainly, that they hardly meet again — but with you I am confident what else my weakness shall present will have a faire acceptance." This allusion to his health was ominous. Sickness had already begun to threaten him.

Some days after this, he writes to his kinsman Knightley (whose son afterwards married one of Hampden's daughters), a description of what he conceives to have been the commencement of his disorder, the

¹ Rushworth, vol. II. p. 3. In this extraordinary document, the king took occasion also to attack Eliot. In reference, it may be supposed, to his commissioners of inquiry into Eliot's property having had a "nihil" returned to them, Charles observes, "Notwithstanding his majesty's late declaration, for satisfying the minds and affections of his loving subjects, some ill-disposed persons do spread false and pernicious rumours abroad; as if the scandalous and seditious proposition in the house of commons, made by an enslaved man, desperate in mind and fortune, tumultuously taken by some few, after that by his majesty's royal authority he had commanded their adjournment, had been the voice of the whole house, whereas the contrary is the truth." The words I have printed in italics are not in Rushworth, but Rymer supplies them. (Fœdera, xix. 62.) The infatuated king continues, "This late abuse having for the present driven his majesty unwillingly out of that course, he shall account it presumption for any to prescribe any time to his majesty for parliaments; the calling, continuing, and dissolving of them being always in the king's own power."

colds of his prison. "For the present I am wholly at a stand, and have been soe for this fortnight by a sicknesse which it has pleased my master to impose, in whose hands remain the issues of life and death. It comes originally from my colds, with which the cough having been long upon me causes such ill effects to follow it, that the symptoms are more dangerous than the grief; it has weakened much both the appetite and concoction, and the outward strength; by that some doubt there is of a consumption, but we endeavour to prevent it by application of the means, and, as the great physition, seek the blessing from the Lord." Good humour and easy quiet, however, did not desert him, though his disease steadily advanced. A week after the date of the foregoing, he writes to Hampden,— "Lately my business hath been much with doctors, so that, but by them, I have had little trouble with myself. These three weeks I have had a full leisure to do nothing, and strictly tied unto it either by their direction or my weakness. The cause originally was a cold, but the symptoms that did follow it spake more sickness; a gradual indisposition it begot in all the faculties of the bodie. The learned said a consumption did attend it, but I thank God I did not feel or credit it. What they advised as the ordinance that's appointed I was content to use, and in the time I was a patient, suffered whatever they imposed. Great is the authority of princes, but greater much is their's who both command our purses and our wills. What the success of their government wills, must be referred to him that is master of their power. I find myself bettered, though not well, which makes me the more readie to observe them. The divine blessing must effectuate their wit — it is that medicine that has hitherto protected me, and will continue me amongst other affairs to remain your faithfull friend." It is affecting to observe, even in his manner of writing, a characteristic of the fatal disorder that had seized him.

As his illness became more determined, the severity of

his imprisonment was increased. Pory the letter writer, indeed, remarked, about this time, "I heare sir John Eliot is to remove out of his darke smoakey lodging into a better;" but I can find no evidence of the removal. On the contrary, shortly before his last letter to Hampden, he had written to Bevil Grenville (who then opposed the court, but afterwards, with no suspicion of his virtue, died fighting for the king at Lansdowne) a statement of increased restraint. His friend had by letter alluded to some rumours that were then abroad¹, and on the faith of which Pory seems to have gossiped, as above, of his probable liberation. "The restraint and watch uppon me," Eliot answers, "berrs much of my intercourse with my friends: while their presence is denied me, and letters are soe dangerous and suspected, as it is little that way we exchange; soe as if circumstances shall condemn me, I must stand guiltie in their judgments; yet yours, (though with some difficultie I have received, and manie times when it was knocking at my door, because their convoy could not enter they did retire again, wherein I must commend the caution of your messenger, but at length it found a safe passage by my servant)—made mee happie in your favour, for which this comes as a retribution and acknowledgment. For those rumours which you meet that are but artificial, or by chance, it must be your wisdom not to credit them. Manie such false fires are flyinge dailie in the ear. When there shall be occasion, expect that intelligence from frends; for which in the meene time you do well to be provided; though I shall crave when that dispute falls, properlie and for reasons not deniable, a change of your intention in particulars as it concerns myselfe,—in the rest I shall concur in all readiness to serve you, and in all you shall

¹ These rumours prevailed strongly at one time. They arose out of whispers of a possibility of a parliament; and I find it stated in a letter among the Harleian MSS., 7000, dated Dec. 14. H.S.1.2, that "Sir John Eliot had lately been courted and caressed in his prison by some great men who are most in danger to be called in question." If any such overtures were made to him, it is certain that he continued immovable. Elgin, indeed, says distinctly (vol. x. p. 263. note), "Sir John Eliot had been tampered with, but was found proof against all temptation."

command me who am nothing but as you represent." His concluding words are affecting. " My humble service to your ladie, and tell her that yet I doubt not to kisse her hand. Make much of my godson."

Immediately after this, instead of any evidence of better treatment, I have to furnish proof of an accession of the most savage and atrocious severity. Eliot hitherto had been permitted, under certain restrictions, to receive visits from his friends. This poor privilege was now withdrawn, and — it is well that this is to be offered on the best authority, or I could not have asked the reader to give credence to it — the comfort of a fire, necessary to life in a damp prison, whose inmate already struggled with a disorder brought on by cold, was, in the depth of winter, wholly, or almost wholly, denied to Eliot! On the 26th of December, 1631, he thus writes to Hampden : — " That I write not to you anything of intelligence, will be excused when I do let you know that I am under a new restraint, by warrant from the king, for a supposed abuse of liberty, in admitting a free resort of visitants, and under that color holding consultations with my friends. My lodgings are removed, and I am now where candle-light may be suffered, but scarce fire. I hope you will think that this exchange of places makes not a change of minds. The same protector is still with me, and the same confidence, and these things can have end by him that gives them being. None but my servants, *hardly my son*, may have admittance to me. My friends I must desire, for their own sakes, to forbear coming to the Tower. You among them are chief, and have the first place in this intelligence. I have now leisure," he continues, with affecting resignation, " and shall dispose myself to business ; therefore those loose papers which you had, I would cast out of the way, being now returned again unto me. In your next give me a word or two of note ; for those translations you excepted at, you know we are blind towards ourselves ; our friends must be our glasses ;

therefore in this I crave (what in all things I desire) the reflection of your judgment."

Thus, in the midst of his worst sufferings, Eliot had the consolation and sustainment of the philosophical work in which he had engaged. His own study, as I have described, had been plundered of its papers and sealed up by the king; but his friends supplied him with books; and in this office, as in every other care and kindness, Hampden was most forward.¹ Sir Robert Cotton's library would have proved of inestimable value to Eliot at this time, as some few years before it had served a kindred spirit², but the atrocious tyranny that now prevailed had reached its learned owner. Accused of having furnished precedents to Selden and Eliot, sir Robert Cotton's great library was seized and held by the king; and, unable to survive its loss, the great scholar died.³ I have spoken of a kindred spirit with that of Eliot. It is impossible, in describing Eliot's labours at this moment — when,

—active still, and unrestrain'd, his mind
Explor'd the long extent of ages past,
And with his prison hours enrich'd the world.

—not to recollect sir Walter Raleigh. Kindred they were, at least, in magnanimity of spirit and largeness of intellect. If it were worth while, I could point out other resemblances. Their faces, in portraits

¹ I shall have a more proper opportunity (in the notice of Hampden) of eliciting a number of delightful personal characteristics from his present conduct to his friend.

² Sir Walter Raleigh. See an interesting letter in the *Biographia Britannica*, vol. v. p. 345.

³ The following extract from sir Symonds D'Ewes' diary is deeply affecting:—"When I went several times to visit and comfort him [sir Robert Cotton] in the year 1630, he would tell me, 'they had broken his heart, that had locked up his library from him.' I easily guessed the reason, because his honour and esteem were much impaired by this fatal accident; and his house, that was formerly frequented by great and honourable personages, as by learned men of all sorts, remained now, upon the matter, empty and desolate. I understood from himself and others, that Dr. Neile and Dr. Laud, two prelates that had been stigmatized in the first [last?] session of parliament in 1628, were his sore enemies. He was so outworn, within a few months, with anguish and grief, as his face, which had formerly been ruddy and well colored, was wholly changed into a grim and blackish paleness, near to the resemblance and hue of a dead visage." Within a "few months" more he died.

I have seen, were strongly like. They were both of old Devonshire families ; both were new residents in Cornwall ; and, through the Champernownes, one of whom had given birth to Raleigh, their families were in a degree related.¹ They both died victims of the grossest tyranny, but not till they had illustrated to the world examples of fearless endurance, and left, for the world's instruction, the fruit of their prison hours. In one particular here, or rather accident, the resemblance fails ; for Raleigh's intention of benefit was fulfilled by the publication of his labours, while Eliot's have remained to the present day unpublished, disregarded, almost unknown. I shall shortly endeavour to remove from literature at least a portion of this reproach ; and, in doing so, an opportunity will be given to Eliot himself to complete this allusion to Raleigh, by one of the finest tributes that has yet been paid to that gallant and heroic spirit.

The health of the imprisoned philosopher sank day by day. His "attorney at law," however, told Pory that he was the same cheerful and undaunted man as ever. His friends now appear to have resolved to make a desperate effort to save him. I quote from one of Pory's manuscript letters to sir Robert Puckering.² "On Tuesday was se'nnight, Mr. Mason of Lincoln's Inn made a motion to the judges of the King's Bench for sir John Eliot, that, whereas the doctors were of opinion he could never recover of his consumption until such time as he might breathe in purer air, they would, for some certain time, grant him his enlargement for that purpose. Whereunto my lord chief justice Richardson answered, that, although sir John were brought low in body, yet was he as high and lofty in mind as ever, for he would neither submit to the king, nor to the justice of that court. In fine, it was concluded by the bench to refer him to the king by way of petition."³

Eliot refused to do this, proceeded still with his

¹ See a statement at p. 2. of this memoir; and *Bing. Brit.*, vol. v., p. 34.
² Sloane MSS. 4179.

treatise, and uttered no complaint. Hampden continued to send him books, and, with delicate good sense, rallies him to his labours. "Make good use of the bookes you shall receive from mee, and of your time ; be sure you shall render a strict account of both to your ever assured friend." As the work progressed, it was sent in portions to Hampden, who criticised it, and, as I shall show, gave value to his praise by occasional objection. "And that to satisfy you, not myselfe, but that by obeying you in a command so contrary to my own disposition, you may measure how large a power you have over John Hampden." Very little political allusion passed in these letters. It was a dangerous subject to touch, for Eliot's correspondence was never safe from exposure.¹ Some time before, he had mentioned this, as we have seen, to Grenville ; and he wrote to Denzil Hollis a letter which bears upon political affairs, but only in dark hints, which he might not express more plainly. "Through a long silence," he says, "I hope you can retaine the confidence and memoire of your frende. He that knows your virtue in the generale cannot doubt any particular of your charitie. The corruption of this age, if no other danger might occur, were an excuse, even in business, for not writing. The sun, we see, begets divers monstres on the earth when it has heat and violence ; time may do more on paper ; therefore the safest intercourse is by harts ; in this way I have much intelligence to give you, but you may divine it without prophesie."

Nearly four years had now passed over Eliot in his prison. Those popular leaders who had been subjected to confinement at the same time, had all of them, within the first eighteen months, obtained their release.²

¹ Many of Hampden's most beautiful letters never reached him.

² Before Valentine had obtained his bail, Eliot began to suspect him of juggling for release ; and he writes of him to a friend, Thomas Godfrey, "This is all I can tell you of him, unless by supposition I could judge him in his reservations and retireement, knocking at some back door of the court, at which if he enter to preferment, you shall know it from your faithful friend." I could furnish many such proofs of the jealous care with which Eliot watched the virtue of his friends.

Eliot only was detained. After the conclusion of the treatise that had so long served to keep up his interest and attention, he appears to have sunk rapidly. Almost worne out by his illness, his friends at last prevailed upon him to petition the king. The account of his "manner of proceeding" is affecting to the last degree. I give it in the words of a letter from Pory to sir Thomas Puckering. "Hee first presented a petition to his majesty, by the hand of the lieutenant his keeper, to this effect:—‘Sir, your judges have committed mee to prison here in your Tower of London, where, by reason of the quality of the ayer, I am fallen into a dangerous disease. I humbly beseech your majesty you will command your judges to sett mee at liberty, that for recovery of my health I may take some fresh ayer,’ &c. Whereunto his majestie’s answere was, ‘it was not humble enough.’ Then sir John sent another petition by his own sonne to the effect following:—‘Sir, I am hartily sory I have displeased your majesty, and, having so said, doe humbly beseech you once againe to command your judges to sett me at liberty, that when I have recovered my health, I may returne back to my prison, there to undergoe such punishment as God hath allotted unto mee,’ &c. Upon this the lieutenant came and expostulated with him, saying, it was proper to him, and common to none else, to doe that office of delivering petitions for his prisoners. And if sir John, in a third petition, would humble himselfe to his majesty in acknowledging his fault and craving pardon, he would willingly deliver it, and made no doubt but hee should obtaine his liberty. Unto this sir John’s answer was —‘I thank you, sir, for your friendly advise, but my spirits are growen feeble and faint, which when it shall please God to restore unto their former vigour, I will take it farther into my consideration.’”¹

That this is a perfectly correct account, cannot be doubted. Pory collected the particulars after the death of Eliot, and gives us his authority. “A gentleman,” he

¹ Harleian MSS. 7000.

says, "not unknown to sir Thomas Lucy, told me from lord Cottington's mouth, that sir John Eliot's late manner of proceeding was this." Moreover, in one of lord Cottington's own despatches to Wentworth, the savage satisfaction with which the court had received, and with which they knew lord Wentworth would also receive, the assurance of the approaching death of the formidable Eliot, is permitted to betray itself. "Your old *dear* friend sir John Eliot," observes the chancellor of the exchequer to the lord deputy of Ireland, winding up a series of important advices with this, the most important of all, "**IS VERY LIKE TO DIE.**"¹

Within two months from that date lord Cottington's prediction was accomplished. Eliot, however, had yet a duty of life left, which he performed with characteristic purpose. He sent for a painter to the Tower, and had his portrait painted, exactly as he then appeared, worn out by disease, and with a face of ghastly paleness. This portrait he gave to his son, that it might hang on the walls of Port Eliot near a painting which represented him in vigorous manhood,—a constant and vivid evidence of the sufferings he had unshrinkingly borne, "a perpetual memorial of his hatred of tyranny." These pictures are at Port Eliot still. I have been favoured with a loan of the earlier portrait, by the courtesy of lord St. Germains. It represents a face of perfect health, and keenly intellectual proportions. In this respect, in its wedge-like shape, in the infinite majesty of the upper region, and the sudden narrowness of the lower, it calls to mind at once the face of sir Walter Raleigh. Action speaks out from the quick keen eye, and meditation from the calm breadth of the brow. In the disposition of the hair and the peaked beard, it appears, to a casual glance, not unlike Van-dyke's Charles. The later portrait is a profoundly melancholy contrast. It is wretchedly painted, but it expresses the reality of death-like life. It presents Eliot in a very elegant morning dress, apparently of lace, and

¹ *Strafford's State Papers*, vol. i. p. 79., dated October 15 1632.

bears the inscription of having been "painted a few days before his death in the Tower."

In the last moments of his life, Eliot presented the perfect pattern of a Christian philosopher. I quote the last of his letters to Hampden.— "Besides the acknowledgment of your favour that have so much compassion on your frend, I have little to return you from him that has nothing worthy of your acceptance, but the contestation that I have between an ill bodie and the aer, that quarrell, and are friends, as the summer winds affect them. I have these three daies been abroad¹, and as often brought in new impressions of the colds, yet body and strength and appetite, I finde myself bettered by the motion. Cold at first was the occasion of my sickness, heat and tenderness by close keepinge in my chamber has since increast my weakness. Air and exercise are thought most proper to repaire it, which are the prescription of my doctors, though noe physick. I thank God other medicines I now take not, but those catholicons, and doe hope I shall not need them. As children learn to go, I shall get acquainted with the aer, practice and use will compasse it, and now and then a fall is an instruction for the future. These varieties He does trie us with, that will have us perfect at all parts, and as he gives the trial he likewise gives the ability that shall be necessary for the worke. He has the Philistine at the disposition of his will, and those that trust him, under his protection and defence. O ! infinite mercy of our master, deare friend, how it abounds to us, that are unworthy of his service ! How broken ! how imperfect ! how perverse and crooked are our waies in obedience to him ! how exactly straight is the line of his providence to us ! drawn out through all occurrents and particulars to the whole length and measure of our time ! how perfect is his hand that has given his sonne

¹ The precincts of his prison, it is unnecessary to add, enclosed the "abroad" of Eliot. The "air and exercise" he afterwards mentions, as having somewhat "bettered" him, were only what he could win from a few narrow paces within the walls of the Tower. It is easy to conclude from this, that a sight of his native country, the greeting of one healthful Cornish breeze, would almost instantly have restored him.

unto us, and through him has promised likewise to give us all things — relieving our wants, sanctifying our necessities, preventing our dangers, freeing us from all extremities, and dying himself for us ! What can we render ? what retribution can we make worthy see great a majestic ? worthy such love and favour ? We have nothing but ourselves who are unworthy above all, and yett that, as all other things, is his. For us to offer up that, is but to give him of his owne, and that in far worse condition than we at first received it, which yet (for infinite is his goodnesse for the merits of his sonne) he is contented to accept. This, dear frend, must be the comfort of his children ; this is the physic we must use in all our sicknesse and extremities ; this is the strengthening of the weake, the nuriching of the poore, the libertie of the captive, the health of the diseased, the life of those that die, the death of the wretched life of sin ! And this happiness have his saints. The contemplation of this happiness has led me almost beyond the compass of a letter ; but the haste I use unto my frends, and the affection that does move it, will I hope excuse me. Frends should communicate their joyes : this as the greatest, therefore, I could not but impart unto my frend, being therein moved by the present expectation of your letters, which always have the grace of much intelligence, and are happiness to him that is trulie your's."

I add to this an extract from one of Pory's letters, dated November 15. 1632. — " The same night, Monday, having met with sir John Eliot's attorney in St. Paul's Churchyard, he told me he had been that morning with sir John in the Tower, and found him so far spent with his consumption as not like to live a week longer."¹

He survived twelve days. On the 27th of November, 1632, sir John Eliot died. Immediately after the event, his son (Richard, as I presume, since he did not go abroad as he purposed) " petitioned his majesty

¹ Harl.ian MSS. 7000.

once more, hee would bee pleased to permitt his body to be carried into Cornwall, there to be buried. Whereto was answered at the foot of the petition, ‘ Lett sir John Eliot’s body be buried in the church of that parishe where he dyed.’¹ This attempt to wreak an indignity on the remains of Eliot was perfectly in accordance with Charles’s system. A paltry piece of heartless spite on the lifeless body of a man, appropriately closes a series of unavailing attempts to reduce his living soul. What remained of the great statesman was thrust into some obscure corner of the Tower church, and the court rejoiced that its great enemy was gone.

Faithful and brave hearts were left to remember this, and the sufferings of Eliot were not undergone in vain. They bore their part in the heat and burthen of the after struggle. His name was one of its watchwords, and it had none more glorious. His sufferings, then, have been redeemed. The manner of his death was no more than the completion of the purposes of his life. Those purposes, and the actions which illustrated and sustained them, I have described in these pages, for the first time, with fidelity and minuteness. In doing this, I have also endeavoured to exhibit his personal and intellectual qualities so fully, that any reiteration of them here might be tedious, and is certainly unnecessary. In estimating his character as a statesman, our view is limited by the nature of the political struggle in which he acted. We have sufficient evidence, however, to advance, from that, into a greater and more independent field of achievement and design. His genius would assuredly have proved itself as equal to the perfect government of a state, as it showed itself supreme in the purpose of rescuing a state from misgovernment. As a leader of opposition, he has had no superior in history, probably no equal. His power of resource in cases of emergency was brilliant to the last degree, and his eloquence was of the highest order. The

moral structure of his mind was as nearly perfect, as that of the most distinguished men who have graced humanity. It ranks with theirs.

Yet this is he, whose memory has been insulted by a series of monstrous slanders flung out against it by political opponents with a recklessness beyond parallel ! The time for such slanders, however, has happily passed away, and the name of John Eliot may now be preserved, unsullied, for the affection and veneration of his countrymen.

What remains to be said of this great person, I shall subjoin as an appendix to this memoir. I am about to examine his philosophical treatise for, I believe, the first time. It has been mentioned certainly by more writers than one, and about twenty lines have been quoted from it ; but this is the utmost extent of appreciation it has received. No one has yet shown any evidence of other than the most superficial glance at its contents ; none of its passages of mingled sweetness and grandeur have been quoted ; no attempt has even been made to describe them. I am about to remove this reproach from literature, and to enrich it with several specimens of thought and style, which might give an added lustre to the reputation of our loftiest writers in prose — to a Hooker, or a Milton.

APPENDIX.

Some Account of an unpublished Philosophical Treatise

ENTITLED

THE MONARCHY OF MAN,

WRITTEN BY SIR JOHN ELIOT DURING HIS LAST
IMPRISONMENT.

A CONSIDERATION of such affecting interest is so immediately and vividly excited in looking at the first page of this manuscript, that I have had it carefully copied for the reader. It presents at once the scene of Eliot's imprisonment, and the lonely and weary hours this cherished work may have lightened. The pure exaltation of the philosopher is approached most nearly by the simplicity of a child; and how touching is the child-like care and interest, which, to while away the lingering time, has so elaborately wrought itself within every letter of this exquisite title! Crouching under the T and the M, two faces will be detected — rather ungain indeed, but still sufficient to remind the solitary prisoner of the more "human face divine." I leave the rest to the imagination of the reader, which is, in many respects, silently and deeply appealed to. I will only add, that the omission of the word "fecit," in the truly and touchingly noble motto, appears to me to be in the highest taste. It reads, as it stands, like an abridged motto on a shield,

chivalrous and significant. It is no proof of the judgment of the only two writers who have given the title of this treatise, that they undertake to repair Eliot's omission in this respect.



The Monarchie of Britain.



*Treatise Philosophicall and morall
wherein some questions of the
Politicks are obviously discut-*

By

Fr. John Eliot Kn. Prisoner in the Tower?

Deus nobis haec otia

Vix:

This wood-cut, it is to be observed, is very considerably reduced from the original, which is of a folio size. The Treatise itself occupies two hundred and forty folio pages, which

are written over with extreme closeness, and by no means so legibly as the specimen before the reader. Eliot was fond of abbreviations ; and the key of his style, in that particular, has grown something rusty, and tries the patience.

The Treatise opens with a general proposition in favour of what Eliot calls the covenant of monarchy. The example of man's monarchy follows, the monarchy of the mind, as the greatest of those covenants, after that of the government of nature, of God.

" Of all covenantes, kingdomes are the best, answering to the first and highest, both of institutions and examples, either in the policie of man or the president of his maker. Next to that great monarchie and kingdome, *quod sub Jove nomen habet*, in which the microcosme, the whole world, is comprehended, is the monarchie of man, that little world and microcosme, coming the neerest, both in order and proportion, for excellencie of matter and exquisitnes of forme. In tyme and order nothing makes to question it ; it beeing the instant and i^mmediate successor of that greater, wherein, the Creation being accomplisht, man was made a governour. In excellency and proportion what paralell may it have ? — what similitude can be given it ? its forme beeing like the disposition of the heavens, soe geometricall and exact, that each part, each orbe, hath his owne motion, in his own tyme, to his owne ends, genuine and proper."

The course of each " orbe and member" is pursued in terms of exalted eulogy, and the " matter" is next handled. By this is meant the subject matter of the proposed government, which embraces nothing extraneous, nothing connected with creatures that are inferior, in point of grandeur, to man himself.

" The excellency of the matter likewise does appear, in that it is not an invention of humanitie, a fabrike of art, but of a substance heauenly, the perfection of all creatures, the true image of the Deity. Twere too lowe, too narrow, for the founder to reduce the gouernment to beasts and to confine it to that compasse, which yet likewise was cast within mans will, and those things submitted to his use. This were unworthie the originall, that transcendent greatness from whence this excellency is derived, to applie it onely to such things. And

much more were it unworthie the ends, the glory and the honor, of that greatness which reflects from purer objects. 'T is larger, 't is better. 'T is of man chiefly this government consists. Man, to be the gournour of himselfe, an exact monarchie within him, in the composition of which state, nothing without him may have interest, but all stands subservient to his use, bee only to his maker."

Eliot then proposes to consider the component parts of this monarchy, and the relative duties they sustain.

" In this monarchie of man, to make the excellency conspicuous, first is requisite a description of the parts, then the knowledge of there duties ; — that, every member beeing seene, and the office it sustaines, it may then appear of what use and advantages they are, what severall meritts they implie, both in degrees and simple, what conference they have, of how much importance to the generall, what correspondence and relations with themselves.

" In the parts, the minde doth sitt as soveraigne, in the throne and center of the heart, the station of most aptnes both for intelligence and command. Two sorts of servants doe attend him, daily administring in that court ; — the one for use and businesse, as Plutarke has it of Craterus, friends and servants to the KING ; — the other, like Hephestion, for pleasure and delight, friends and servants unto ALEXANDER. These, the rationall and bruite faculties of the soule, are both necessarie in their kinds, both usefull to their soveraigne, though differing in their service, and differing in the way.

" Of the first a senate is compos'd, a solid body for councill and advice, still intent on the gouernment. Such are memorie, judgement, fancie, and their like. The second are the waiters and followers, which respect not the affaires, but the presence, of their king, as the will and affections that accompanie him. Subservient to these, and according to these principles, all other things are mov'd, every part and member in his place ; the great officers beeing the sences ; and ministers subordinate, the organs ; the subiect, the body, in which all these subsist, — and though the most unactive part it be, yet it is truely called the center and foundation of the rest.

" This is the frame and constitution of this monarchie, and of these parts it does consist."

The question follows of the several offices and duties of these various parts, and, " On this point," Eliot observes, with an allusion of extreme elegance, " wee shall endeavour to expresse, as young painters doe rare beauties, some lines and slight resemblances, though, in the exactness, wee come short of the true figure and perfection."

" There is one common duetie of them all, to which all are equally obliged; prince as well as subiects, subiects as theirre prince; all offices are directed to this end, and all are accomptable for that trust; proportionably indeed to the qualitites they are in; geometrically, and ad pondus, though not arithmetically and alike. The greater and more dignified, for more, as more advantage has been given them; the lesse, and all, for somewhat to the capacities they have. Which is for the conservation of the whole, the publike utiltie and good, wherein all indeavours must conterminante as theirre absolute and true end."

" And the reason is binding in this point. For if the whole fabrike be desolved, how can a part subsist? Be it the chamber of the councill, the head; or the king's throne, the heart; or yet, which is more excellent, what they both containe, the king himself and councill, the mind and faculties of reason; —what subsistance can they have, or what being can they hold, without that frame and body of which they are king and councill? A father is soe called, but in relation to a child; and if that childhood cease, he ceases to be a father. It is ignorance, madness, to think that in a disjuncture they can stand; either the prince or the subiect; when the prince is such but in reference to the subiect, and the subiect has not being without the subsistance of the state. *Adeo manifestum est* (as an emperour speaks in Tacitus) *neq; perire neq; salvos esse, nisi una, &c.* The coniuncture is so strict, that in the dissolution of the generall, noe particular can be fast; and, without preservation of the members, the body cannot stand; therefore each part must strive for the conservation of the whole, and that whole intend the preservation of the parts."

Eliot then reduces to two heads, the division and limitation of their respective duties. The passage is striking.

" The king is to command ; the subiect to obey. Both, however, with like readines in their places ; and like affection to each other. The subiect must not make his center in himself, and direct onely his indeavours to that end as if there they were to terminante ; but they must alwaies be with respect unto his soueraigne, and to the publike good, therein inclining his will. As the king is to answer this observance in correspondency thereof, he must not retire his thoughts to private purposes and designes,—respects that are particular, peculier interests of his owne ; — but his authority must move as it has been appointed, *in ordine*, for his subiects, for the common use and benefit, for the safety and tranquillitie of the state, for the singuler advantage of each member, and the universall happiness and good."

The treatise now flows naturally into an examination of the analogies of civil government.

" And in this, generally, this monarchie is agreeable to all others, of the same frame and constitution ; and what is true in them is conclusive upon this, their reasons being alike ; as conversively from this, may be argued to the rest. Wee will therefore consider them together, to see how the authority does arise, and what powers and judgments have been giuen them. That done, wee will descend to exercises and corruptions, with the effects and consequences that are incident, from whence, by comparison, the knowledge wille be easie. Where the advantage rests, that shall be an evidence to iustifie the right. Even the fruite and proffit shall be made arguments to prove it. Wherin, notwithstanding all disguises to the contrarie, the true *utile* shall be seen, like the heliotropium, that beautie of the gardens, always converting to the sunne, the *honestum*, to which it shutts and opens, as that is present or removed."

The original of civil monarchy Eliot seeks for in the heavens. From the solitude of his dungeon, into that clear region, " above the thunder," it was some consolation to pass !

" To finde out the originall of these excellencies, the beginning of these monarchies and monarchs, wee must first search the heavens, and, by ascending thither by thought and speculation, bring down the knowledge of that truth. Wee shall there see them, from before all eternitie, written in the councells of

the court, the great ruler there haueing so decreed it, in conformity to his gouernment. From his owne excellence and perfection was theire idea taken, the patterne and example being himselfe, the worke his owne, the institution and invention his, and the end and scope for which it was ordained. Soe thence wee shall finde theire originalls derived; there they haue beginning; from thence they haue continuance; there both their Genesis and Exodus are inroll'd. All their degrees, periods, and revolutions, their remissions, and intentions, are guided by this influence. *Inde est imperator,* (saith Tertullian), *vnde et homo: inde potestas, vnde et spiritus.* The same power which first created man gave their originall to princes. He who of nothing gave being unto all things,— be that to man whilst he was yet but clay, that unactive piece of element, infused a spirit and fire to give him life and motion,—from him proceeds this power."

Aristotle, Dion, Plato, and Pliny give the strength of their authority to the writer; and, pursuing various monarchical analogies, in a manner much resembling that of Sydney's treatise, through families, cities, and so on, he arrives at the government of the "great globe itself," in considering which, he says, the reason sinks, for, since it cannot ascend up to "nature, which is but the daughter of the world," much less should it compass "the world, the universall mother of all nature." Eliot then exclaims, with a passing eulogy on Cicero, which, considering the many points of literary resemblance between them, is very interesting—"Without a maker the world had not been at first, without a ruler it would haue no continuance. The varieties and contrarieties that are in it, beyond the understanding of weake man, so reconciled to order and agreement, give it a full expression. O the height of this gradation, which none but Cicero could climbe!" And thus he proceeds through a laboured praise, considering the accomplished Roman in all his aspects, " resorting to the person from the cause, from the client to the advocate," till he knows not, as he expresses it, "whether his truth or eloquence be more admirable."

The next passage I shall quote, is beautiful and characteristic. Eliot proposes to examine the authority of princes, their powers and judgments, with their controlling rules and limits. In the

course he lays down towards this, I recognise an admirable sense of the proprieties in argument, with a feeling of the probable public appearance of his labours ; a glance at the strange aspect of the times, and an endeavour to save his work, as it were, from the severities that had fallen on himself ;—which will not be read without much interest. It is full of delicate beauty. I subjoin to this the commencing passages of the argument which follows it, bespeaking toleration for the objects and intentions of man, on the ground of the wretched dependency and infirmity of his acts.

" Thus then wee see how the authority does rise, and from whence princes have originall, both in particular, for ours, and generally, for all nature, therein assenting. Our next view must be of the powers and judgements that are giuen them ; wherein likewise there is community. Then their rules and limits wee will touch, with some notes of advantage and disadvantage from the use. Which done, wee will draw the application to ourselves, to our owne monarchie, the mind, and shew the propriety of that ; handling by the way the questions most in controversie, touching the exercise of that power ; which wee will take, as they are emergent from our subject, and arise naturally in discourse ; not compelling, not coveting, any that does not voluntarily come in, and readily accost us ; nor balking those which the occasion shall present, for any fear or difficulties. Only this favor wee petition, which candor will allow us for our encouragement in the worke, that no prejudice may impeach us in the censure of our reason, — if it tide contrary to the tymes, if it oppose the stream and current wee are in, either in dilating or contracting the interests and pretentions, superior or inferior. Wee shall impartially deliver it, if not to the truth of the cause, which may exceed our judgement, yet to the truth and identity of our sense ; and if in that we fail, though it be an error, 'tis not a crime unpardonable, uncapable of remission. Yet we shall be careful to avoid it, and are not unhopefull in that point, having our affections on a right level, so equally disposed as nothing but ignorance can divert them.

" First then, to take the just height and latitude of this power, we must begin our consideration at the end—the end and scope—for which it was ordain'd, which is the perfection of all works

and the first thing always in intention. Acts may have diverse inclinations and effects, from the accidental intercurrence of new causes contrary to their institution and design, whereon no sound judgement can be grounded. To an act of virtue there may be a concurrency of vice, through the corruption and infirmitie of the object. A charity may be interverted to ill uses, as not seldom happens thro' the depravity of men, and so lose the fruit of virtue. The council of Achitophell may be follie, though an effect of wisdom. Equity may be converted to iniquity. Justice into injury, or into cruelty of extremity. No virtue, indeed, in operation is so sacred, but circumstance may corrupt it, diverse effects may follow it, as from new causes and intentions intervenient. Thus we see it in the motion of the spheres, the perfection of whose course revolves from east to west, and yet all the lesser and lower orbes run a counter course to that, turning from west to east. Their natural motions and inclinations are irregular, *ad raptum*. So, in the acts of virtue, oblique intentions may occur to corrupt it in particulars, though the virtue be the same. Therefore, as the intention must be the indication of the act, the end must shew the intention. For as a good act may be ill done in respect of the intention, so the intention of what purity soever may be corrupted by the end. If our descent and end shall terminate in the east; if our horoscope and ascendant shall be placed in the period of the west; if we shall then, as Strato saith, seeke the sunne itself rising in the west,—we cannot conclude properly, or right. For the end of the great workman must direct us, not the effect and operation of the worke. *Finis operantis*, the end and the proposition of the first mover, the maker of those powers; not *finis operis*, the practice and exercise of man, who, like those lower orbes, has no regularity, but *ad raptum*."

The authority to be committed to princes, with the assistance of their deliberative and executive governments, and the duties required of them, are then treated by Eliot. He tempers the apparent remoteness of such an authority by many familiar analogies, and illustrates the dangers that beset a prince in the example of the pilot of a ship:—"The leaks," he says, "are infidelity and treachery in ministers; the rocks, inequality and distemper in the gouernment; the sands and synks, are fictions

and divisions ; the winds and waves, the attempts and invasions of the enemie ; the pyratts are the false and subtil underminers, that would robb and steale away all law, liberty, and religion."

A singular passage follows, but it is too long for my present purpose. Eliot takes up the power to be given to ministers as a thing to be limited, invariably, and in all things, by rule ; " secundum artem, according to certainty ; " that it should be, in fact, a PRINCIPLE, or the man to whom it is entrusted will turn, as he says, " a sophister and impostor." He then ranges through several chemical analogies, combining and condensing them, with a rich facility and skill. He that desires to have " the gold and quintessence" at last, must search laboriously from " metal to metal, element to element ; " and so, in the view of Eliot, must the course of that man be laid, who seeks the true understanding of government, " emergent and resultant from the world." Government, he proceeds to reason, is called " supreme," but it is only so " for the good and welfare of the subject." The latter part of which definition, though it be not expressly in the words, is included in the sense, as the end and object of all such authority and power. And it follows likewise by inference and reason, if the use and interest be not sever'd. For, as Cicero says, *respublica* is but *respopuli* ; and if the right and interest be the people's, so should the benefit and use." This supreme power of the state Eliot now reduces to two divisions ; " the first concerning the exercise of that power as it is distributive to others," the ministers of princes, — which he ties down, with much strong sense and argument, to a strict obedience of the laws ; " the other reflecting particularly upon princes, and the privilege and prerogative of their persons," which, when he comes to discuss, he introduces with a melancholy application to himself. Nothing, at the same time, can be more quiet or firm. I have not found, indeed, in the whole of this remarkable work, one touch of querulous impatience. " The next thing that comes to meet us in our way is the second question we expounded, whether the lawes have an operation upon princes. And this with more difficulties is involved, as lying within that mysterie, the prerogative of kings, which is a point so tender as it will hardly bear a mention. We may not therefore handle it with any roughness, lest it reflect some new

beam of terror on ourselves ; but with what caution we may, yet without prejudice to truth ;—that in what freely we have undertaken we may faithfully be delivered, and safely render the opinion which we gave without suspect of flattery."

In the next sentence Eliot sets such a suspicion at rest ! With a sudden and indignant sense that the claims set up for princes in that day are even too absurd for argument, he exclaims—“ It falls not into *question* whether laws have an influence on kings, *but conclusive and in right!* It is to question how far such persons should be subject to the laws, what bounds and circumscriptions they have given them, and in what compass and degrees they ought to be limited and confined.” He then continues (following up a précédent passage of elaborate eulogium on the law, which I ought to have mentioned, and which is so nobly carried out in Pym’s great speech against Strafford, that I cannot help imagining Pym to have been admitted to some knowledge of the composition of this treatise by his imprisoned friend) — “ Two things occur in this—the laws, and priviledges, of each country, in both which the subject has like interest. By the priviledge the prince is free from all things but the law ; by the law he craves in all things to be regulated. By the priviledge he has a propriety of consent in the sanction of all lawes ; by the lawes he has a certain rule and level by which to square his actions. By the priviledge all approved customs are received in the strength and vigour of the lawes ; by the lawes no actual repetitions shall create a custom, without acceptation and allowance. The law is rex omnium, as Pindarus says, the king and governour of all things ; the other is regi similis, something like unto a king, as Bodin has it,—as absolute, though less known.”

Eliot, in the next passage, brands the slavish sycophancy of his time. “ Of these laws and priviledges,” he says “ (which we shall join together, making but one joint subject of this question), the discussion will be easier if we turn our disquisition, and thus state it. What power the king has upon them ? Wherein there is such a confluence of flattery, conduced to our prejudice ;—such labour to make monarchie unlimited, an absoluteness of government without rule ;—so much affection, or corruption rather, specified ;—such distortion and perversion of authorities

to that end ; — learning made prostitute to fallacy ; — religion turned to polcie ; — heaven brought down to earth ; — light transformed to darkness ; — as to attempt against it, is now to row against the tide ! against the stream and current of these times to seek a passage unto truth ! ” Not the less did the philosophic patriot seek it, and he could afford pity, from his dungeon, to the hollow meanness of the slaves whose doctrines kept him there. “ Some would insinuate,” he says, pointing to the sermons of Sibthorp and Laud, “ from the dehortation of the Israelites, a warrant and authority for the extention of that power. What then was said in terrour, they now make it a conclusion of the right ! Others inferr from the confession made by David, ‘ Against thee only have I sinned,’ that princes offend not men, and therefore have a liberty upon them to do what acts they please. Which judgements we shall rather pity than contest ! The heathens, likewise, both Greeks and Latins, have been search’t to have their attestations for this sense ; — but how truly we shall, in a few general instances, soon shew ! ” Eliot then brings up to his aid what Prynne would have called “ squadrons ” of authorities. “ Plinie shall be first, who in direct terms avers, *non est princeps supra leges, sed leges supra principem*, — noe prince is without the regulation of the laws, but they are far above the authority of princes. We know in what time and state that author wrote, where monarchie and empire had not their meanest exaltation. No princes had a power beyond the authority of the Romans — no Romans greater than the princes of that age. Yet of them he speaks it, who were the masters of all others, that the laws and statutes of their country had a mastery upon them. And so Tacitus does expresse it, of the first laws at Rome.” Valentinian follows, and Plato, and all are shown to be emphatic assertors of the great principle, that “ nothing but ruin can be the fortune of that kingdom where the prince does rule the laws, and not the laws the prince. Aristotle, in the same way, and with the same spirit and wisdom, does confirm it, speaking of the miseries and fatalities of those states which happen, as he says, where kings endeavour more than is fitting in the government.” A very sharp and masterly dissection of a disputed passage in Aristotle follows, when Eliot shows that the “ court

parasites" of the day have basely abused the text. Several fine quotations from various parts of Cicero are next brought forward, which, as if exultingly, Eliot exclaims, "make it against the law and principles of nature for one man to act his pleasure on another! 'To detract any thing from any man' (says he), 'and this man to draw a benefit to himself from the hurt and prejudice of that, is more contrary to nature than all poverty and sorrow, than whatever can happen to the body, not death itself excepted, or to the outward condition of a man.' What more fully or more plainly can be spoken? What greater authority can be had, either for the persons or the reasons? The Greeks, the most excellent of them, and from whom the contrary is insinuated (but how truly have we observed by the way), the Latins likewise, and not the meanest of their kind, whose judgements no posterity can impeach,—we have really and actually on our side. Princes and emperors consenting! We may confirm it by the examples of some others, if number be more valuable than weight; yet not such as shall lessen the esteem; for if no other were produced, their worths might serve for a counterpoise to all opposites."

I do not know if every reader will agree with me, but, in this picture of a great mind, forcing itself, as it were, in obedience to the sad necessity of the time, to appear to need satisfaction for the penetration of its own genius in the authority and reverence of past ages, I recognise an object of very deep and affecting interest. The treatise, indeed, is scarcely so remarkable to me for the power it exhibits, great and truly valuable as that is, as for the evidences of a wider power which it restrains. It will be seen, however, as Eliot emerges from the fetters of political discussion, into what beauty and grandeur he ascends, mastering, moulding to his immortal purpose, and impregnating with his own intellectual power, his variously fine attainments. I may with propriety furnish the reader at this moment with a passage of the criticism of Hampden, written on receiving the first rough draft of this portion of the treatise. "When you have finished the other parte, I pray thinke mee as worthy of the sight of it as the former, and in both together I'll betray my weakness to my friend by declaring my sense of them. That I did see is an exquisite nosegay, composed of curious flowers, bound together with as fine a

thredd. But I must in the end expect honey from my friend. Somewhat out of those flowers digested, made his owne, and givinge a true taste of his own sweetnesse. Though for that I shall awaite a fitter time and place." And again, of other extracts from this portion of the manuscript, with no less delicate expression, Hampden says, " This I discerne, that 'tis as complete an image of the patterne as can be drawne by lines ; a lively character of a large mind ; the subject, method, and expressions, excellent and homogeniall ; and, to say truth (sweete heart), somewhat exceeding my commendations. My words cannot render them to the life ; yet (to show my ingenuousness rather than witt) would not a lesse model have given a full representation of that subject ? Not by diminution, but by contraction, of parts. I desire to learn ; I dare not say. The variations upon each particular seem many ; all, I confesse, excellent. The fountaine was full ; the channel narrow ; that may be the cause. Or that the author imitated Virgil, who made more verses by many than he intended to write, to extract a just number. Had I scene all his, I could easily have bidd him make fewer ; but if he had badd mee tell which he should have spared, I had bine apposed. So say I of these expressions." It is very truly and beautifully said, and, as we advance, the reader will see ample reason for the more exalted and enthusiastic praise, which Hampden afterwards bestowed on his friend's labours. Meanwhile, he will pardon this digression.

Eliot, producing his examples of princes who have willingly ranged themselves on his side, in acknowledgment of the supremacy of law, proceeds : — " Plutarche relates it of Antiochus, that great king of Asia, the third of his name, but the first in honour and accomplishment, that he, in conformity of this duty, sent despatches to his princes for prevention of the contrary ;—intimating that if any letters or commands should be brought in his name, adverse or incongruous to the laws, they should believe that (*ignara se*) they were given without his knowledge and consent, and therefore that no other obedience should be yielded, than was challenged by that rule. For which Gratian, on the like occasion, gives a reason, and thereupon reduced it to a law." The words of Gratian are

then given. I may here observe that Eliot is scrupulously exact in his method of quotation ; that where the words of the original authority are used in the text, the book and chapter are carefully written down in the margin ; and that where the sense only of the authority is employed in the treatise, a note generally supplies the exact quotation and its reference. He must have had at least the companionship of many books in his prison. The majority of his extracts from Plato and Aristotle are given in latin, evidently to help himself on the faster, for the original editions are always referred to, and when he uses the greek letters he writes them with too much neatness and labour to have permitted himself their constant use. Other authorities follow Gratian ; and the writer then triumphantly appeals, to the opinion of a master among "both emperors and civilians,"— to an edict of prince Theodosius.

" By him it was thus written for posterity. ' It is the majesty of him that governeth to confesse himself bound to the laws ; so much doth authority depend on law, and so much is submission to the laws greater than authority. And that we will not to be unlawful, we shew it unto others by the oracle of this present edict.' In this," Eliot continues, " a conclusion is laid down, not only that all princes are subject to the laws, but that it is their majestie, their honor and exaltation, so to be ! And the reason follows it, that the law is the ground of authority, all authority and rule a dependant of the law. This edict was not only an edict for that time, but for the generations of succeeding ages, and for all posterity to come. Rightly, therefore, and most worthily, stiled an oracle. And in correspondence to this, is the moderne practice of these times. Almost in all the states of Europe, princes at the assumption of their crowns, assume and take an oath for the maintenance and observation of the laws. So, if we look either into authority or example, the use and practice of all times, from the moderne to the ancient, the reason is still cleare, without any difficulty or scruple, *de jure*, in right, that princes are to be regulated by the laws, and that the laws have an operation on the prince."

" Yet two things," Eliot observes in a passage of much interest, and which illustrates an opinion I have expressed

above, "we are told, do oppose, and are made arguments against this: — the honor and the profit of the king, which are said to have some prejudice by this rule. Many pretensions there are made, by those that are enemies to law, to inculcate this doctrine unto princes, which in particular to convince were not a task of hardness, if the danger exceeded not the trouble. But the infection of these times is uncompatible of such labours, when scarce the least disease is curable. We shall therefore follow them as wee did in the strength and assistance of authorities, which, in point of profit, do conclude that there is no fruit or advantage in injustice. *Ubi turpitudo*, says Cicero, *ibi utilitas esse non potest* — where shame and dishonesty inhabit, there profit cannot sojourn. And that dishonestie he puts for the violation of a dutie. Againe, *nihil utile quod non idem honestum, et nunquam potest utilitas cum honestate contendere.*"

Some historical examples, very graphically told, are now adduced in illustration of the last noble maxims, and Eliot hints at the contrast they present to the examples of modern days. "And yet how much more should those conventions be observed, which are ratified by oath, and made with friends and citizens, fellow-citizens and brethren, of the same mother!" He then handles the question of the position in which a king is placed by having the authority of the law upon him; whether or not it is a failure of dignity. The following is subtilly expressed. "In reason first, how can it be dishonour to a king to be subject to himself? No man repines at the motions of his will; no man thinks those actions dishonorable which flow from his own intentions; nor holds that phisicke vilifying which works his health and safety. Yet all these must be granted to infer dishonor from the laws. Phisicke that works a safety must have a vilified reception; actions free and voluntary must be in antipathy with our thoughts; affections must displease; and so, too, the inclinations of the will (not as they are depraved, but simply as affections); and kings must hold it base to be governed by themselves, before it be concluded that there comes dishonor by the laws;—which are but the promulgations of royltie; the proper motions and dispositions of that power; the special acts of princes; their own

influences and intentions ; a health-giving composition of their own, either made actually by their hands, or prepared for them by their fathers, their predecessors, and accepted by themselves, so that they become their own ;— and in being subject unto them they are but subject to themselves, which cannot be dishonorable. No man can be said to be inferior to himself, yet this must be granted in this case. Upon this honorable punctilio, kings must become inferior to themselves, and a loyal king must be less than an illegal. Yet all power has root but in the wills of men. *Viz omnis imperij in consenu obediensium constat,* — all empire and authority rests in the obedience of the subject, and the true forme of all obedience is comprehended in the lawes. For those services are false, imposed by fear and terror, and so is that maxim that procures them — *Oderint dum metuant !* Let them hate so that they fear. That *versus execrabilis*, as Seneca calls it ! for he gives it this operation on a prince, and therefore it is well termed execrable. By it he is driven from extremity to extremity. He is hated because he is feared, and will maintain that fear because he is so hated."

The greater value of love, far beyond this, is next shown, in the example of an affectionate people. Eliot then looks back upon his arguments ; and, in summing them up, enforces them again with new authorities, and shows great learning in the Fathers. He also refers to the great text book of constitutional law in that day, the famous treatise of Fortescue. " Fortescue, that learned chancellor of England, calls it impotencie and non-power to do things contrary to the laws ; and therefore the laws, he says, are no restriction to power, for to do contrary to them is no act of power ; as it is no power to sinne, or to do evil, or to be sick, or old ; for all these are instances that he gives, and in these respects he says they are contingent unto men. Men are less perfect than the angels, who have not libertie in those, and therefore those laws that regulate the will cannot be dishonourable. Comines, that wise Frenchman, has also a question to this purpose, upon the restraint of Lewis XL, when in the distraction of his sickness."

Before closing this branch of his subject finally, Eliot devotes some space to an exposure of the false constructions

that had been placed upon writings of authority by various prerogative-men. I regret that I cannot give an extract, as it exhibits a very searching vigour. With the following severe similitude he closes.

" He that governs not after the laws and customs of his country, is to be held a tyrant. To him Tacitus has applied the fable, *Quod quisquis viscera humana, cum aliarum victimarum visceribus forte gusteret, lupus fieri cogitur.* That whoever shall taste the interior of a man, though but by chance in the mixtures of the sacrifices, he transforms into a wolf. Those human entrails in the morall are but the public rights and priviledges; — the devouring whereof, though but by mixture and confusion, is like that cruelty in the proverb, *homo homini lupus*, man a wolf to man, a transformation of humanity into the beastly nature. In the psalms it has an expression that is higher, to which no aggravation can be added, no accumulation can be given. And that likewise proceeding from a king, who, enumerating some acts of oppression and injustice (which are the effects of an arbitrary and unlimited dominion, a tyranny, as elsewhere he does call it) — accepting of persons, not defending of the poore, destroying of their rights, want of preservation and protection to the people, — for these, he says, all the foundations of the earth are out of course ! as if the whole frame of nature had a dependance upon justice, and that the violation of the one threatened the dissolution of the other ! "

The next division of the treatise is devoted to a consideration of the power of government, and the qualities necessary for its legitimate exercise. Here, under one of many heads, a severe education is insisted on, with great force, as absolutely necessary to a prince. Eliot contrasts vividly Cyrus and his sons. " But the accession of Cyrus to the crowne was from a harder fortune, which fitted him with virtue. His sonnes had a softer education, being brought up by women, eunuchs, and the like, who infused principles of weakness, and with their flattery and adulations taught nothing but the doctrine of greatness. No man was suffered to oppose them in any exercise or purpose; but all was praising and commanding of all they said or did; (as who dares yet do otherwise in the

familiarity of princes !) ” Dismissing this, however, Eliot proceeds to argue — with something like an uneasy sense of the absurdities in abstract reasoning, which are unquestionably connected with the monarchical principle — that, taking kings at the very best, as models of temperance and fortitude, they must be allowed to need something more. “ Princes might have that plenitude of temperance as should restrain them from all license, and exorbitance. That likewise should be accompanied with a fortitude to manage and subdue all loose appetites and affections, and make them impenetrable in that part. Yet there would be wanting one thing more necessary to perfection, nay, most necessary for the perfection of a king, — which is a kind of all knowledge and omniscience, a vast and generall comprehension of all things in his government, with their several incidents, emergents, and contingents, their conjectures, disjunctures, relations, and dependencies.”

This is a formidable list, and the passage which follows it is striking. Eliot revives, from his favourite author, the image of that Roman tyrant, which at the impeachment of Buckingham had struck such dismay into Charles, for the purpose of proving that there have been princes in the old time, who, affecting a love for parliaments, were wont to commence projects by that authority, and to carry them on without it ! “ In this we have the confession of Tiberius, not the unwiseſt, though not the best, of princes, who saith, *non posse principem sua conscientia cuncta complecti*, — a prince cannot have that universality of science to comprehend all things in his braine. A senate therefore was thought necessary to be auxiliar and assistant, wherein that emperor did concurre. With all the wisdom of his elders, squaring his profession out to justice, though his actions spake the contrary. *Cuncta per consules incipiebat*, says Tacitus, — he began all things by the consuls. In relation to the senate, indeed, and in a publick oration to that court, he did declare the necessity of their counsell, saying, *experiendo didicisse quam arduum, quam subjectum fortunae, regendi cuncta onus*, — that by experience he had found the danger and difficulty of sole government.” The hypocrisy of Tiberius is afterwards shown, and at the same time wrested to a finer purpose in argument than sincerity itself could have

illustrated. Eliot closes with some noble passages out of Plato.

The nature of parliaments themselves, granting the necessity of their existence, is next examined. The powers which were granted them among the Jews at their sanhedrim, at Athens, in Ætolia, at Rome, in Carthage, and Sparta, are alluded to. The base purposes of those men who poison the ears of princes with jealousy of parliaments, are bitterly exposed, and some of the doctrines of Machiavell held up to scorn. A vast number of authorities are quoted, and much use is made of the arguments of Philip de Comines. Eliot, in his course, speaks highly of the genius of Sallust, and bursts into a fine eulogium at the mention of Aristotle, "that stupendum hominis, that wonder and miracle of reason!" He closes with some general arguments out of Bodin, and, winding up his parallel between a tyrant and a king, strikes heavily at the recent exactions of royalty. "This feeds on the affection of his subjects, the other on their fears. This has his fears principally for them; the other has them for the objects of his fears. This takes nothing from his subjects, but on publick warrant and necessity; that drinks, carouses in their blood, and does fatt him with their marrow, to bring necessity upon them." The entire subject of the civil government of man is then wound up in the following broad and satisfactory proposition. "Monarchy is a power of government and rule for a common good and benefit; not an institution for private interests and advantage. To this runs the confluence of all authority and reason, either grounded on the end, or the definition and examples of the order."

Eliot now advances to the grander purpose of his treatise, — the consideration of the monarchy of the mind. He opens with some general comparison of the civil with the metaphysical relations in this government. He treats of the "councillors of the mind," and carries them up to their final aims, "the end and perfection of all empire, the *bonum publicum* of the politicks; that *summum bonum* of philosophers, that *ne ultra in felicitie*." From this inquiry, however, he intimates that we must exclude at once the vanity of ambition, with its "heappings of Pelion on Ossa;" and, in working the inquiry out, we must be prepared for the weaknesses of man in many points,

since even the wisest men, the philosophers of the old time, have not been able to agree. This carries Eliot into an interesting expression of their differences. He describes them by the fable of Menippus.

"He found nothing but confusion upon earth, nothing but incertainty with men. Doubt and ambiguity in some ; dissent and contradiction among others ; difference and disagreement amongst all. Then soe the philosophers, at least their sects in controversie, if not the particulars of all kinds, yet the kinds of all particulars. The Stoicks and Epicureans opposed. The Peripatetickes varying from both. The Academickes differing from all. And these divided between the old and new, the Eretrians, Megarians, and Cyrenians, all in opinions separate and distinguished. Like Heterogenialls, rather, and things contrary ; not as professors of one science, masters of philosophy, lovers of truth and wisdom ! "

This is well said. In their differences, however, Eliot discerns elements of the truth. He proposes therefore to examine them. "It may be we shall draw some advantage for the information of ourselves, by contraction of their fancies ; as was thought by a concursion of the atoms, towards the making and creation of the world. Wee will therefore take a short survey of them, and try what they will yield ; judging, not by number but by weight, what estimation may be given them. And as we find their true worth and value, so will we rate them in our book, casting the profit which they bring in the accompt of our own endeavours. To which we shall add what in reason or authority we shall find necessary for the opening of this secret ; this end of all our labour ; this scope and object of our hopes ;—that *summum bonum* in philosophie, that *bonum publicum* in our policy, the consumation and perfection of our happiness ! "

In accordance with this design Eliot plunges at once into the various schools of ethicks that prevailed among the ancients, describes them all, and discusses their respective doctrines. At every step he gives proof of the profound scholar, of a man of wide compass of thought, and of that peculiar power in the application of learning, which stamps it with the creative genius. A trail of light runs along the track of the old systems as we

follow them in his pages. The Peripatetics first appear, the Academicks next, and the Stoicks follow, with the thunder of Aristotle striking down their systems from beyond. The Eretrians are afterwards introduced, and to them the Epicureans, in open opposition. And thus we follow all in turn, the genius of Eliot quickening these dead systems into an active present knowledge. Suddenly he exclaims, " But let us draw nearer to the light, and dispel those mists that shadow and obscure it, by the beames and radiance of the sun, that so we may find the *summum bonum* which we look for."

"SENECA, ' Romani nominis et sapientiae magnus sol,' as Lipsius styles him, 'that great glory of the Roman name, and wisdom,' thus compounds it:—' Ex bona conscientia, ex honestis consiliis ex rectis actionibus, ex contemptu fortuitorum, ex placido vita et continuo tenore, unam prementis viam.' ' Of a knowledge and intentions uncorrupted, of council liberal and just, of actions rectified and exact, of scorn of accident, of a propitious and even course and constancie of life, its diameter and straightness kept without reflection or transition.' Where these are met in a true diagram and mixture, where these ingredients are consolidate, there he makes that *summum bonum*, that great happiness, the term of man's perfection, the true end and object of his hopes."

Following up the principle of this moral system, Eliot defines with an exquisite clearness the relations of virtue. In the midst of this, while borrowing an illustration from Seneca, he breaks into a magnificent eulogy of the "wisdom and sublimity of his ethicks. His speculations in philosophie," exclaims Eliot with an intense fervor and beauty of expression, " doe preach divinitie to us, and his unbelief may indoctrinate our faith! Is it not shame," he afterwards asks, " that we that are professors in the art, should have less knowledge than those that never studied it? — that their ignorance should know that of which our knowledge is still ignorant? at least in the exercise and practice!" In the following I recognize the sublimity and sweetness of Hooker. " In this he puts that *summum bonum*, and chiefe good, *Deo parere*, to be obedient unto God, to be obsequious to his will. *Hoc fac, ut vives*, as was the motto of the law. Doe this and live. Live in all happiness and fe-

licity; in all felicity of mind, in all felicity of body, in all felicity of estate! For all these come from him; he only has the dispensation of these goods; and he that serves him shall have the fruition of them all. This was the notion of that Heathen, which, what Christian can heare and not admire it? It strikes a full dispason to the concord of the Scriptures, and concents with that sweet harmony! O let us then apply it to ourselves, and make his words our works! Let us endeavour for the benediction in the gospel, knowing these things to be blessed, that we do them!"

Suddenly Eliot checks himself:—" But to return to our own charge and province, that we be not taxed for usurpation in intruding on another; to resume the disquisition we intended for the end and object of our government, the perfection of our monarchy; — which our divine Seneca doth determine in that axiome and theoreme, *Deum sequi.*" Several neat touches of statement and description succeed, with the object of a wider direction to Seneca's maxim, after which Eliot remarks:—" We will now endeavour, upon all that has been said, to extract a quintessence from the variety of expressions and opinions which we have mentioned; — to make one solid globe, one entire and perfect conclusion." In the course of this, the moral and physical relations of the world are surveyed, and from them is shown, the possibility of the attainment of a firm and independent position for the mind.

" This habit and position of the mind, to constitute perfect happiness, must be both cleare and firme; — cleare without cloud or shadow to obscure it; and firm in all constancy. Immoveable like the centre! Add then to this that it does come from God — that it is *munus Dei*, his free gift and *Largesse* — and then we see what is this choice happiness and good, that *summum bonum* in philosophy, that *bonum publicum* in our policy, the true end and object of the monarchie of man! It is a cleare and firm habit and position of the mind by knowledge, rectifying all the actions and affections to the rule and conformity of reason. It is to be happy. Not in greatness, and honor, riches, or the like, but in any state or quality, that elixar may be found. From the most simple being of mankind, that quintessence may be drawn. The mind being

brought to that quality and condition, the faculty working on the object, not the object on the faculty, there is in any state, how mean or low soever, an equal passage and ascent to that great height and exaltation ! ”

The elements by which the proposed monarchy of the mind may be constructed having been thus established, and the possibility of its construction shown, Eliot mentions with exultation the great virtues which, once it is constructed, shall tend to its immortal sustainment. But then he restrains himself. Before we triumph, we must subdue. Through sorrow, it may be necessary to advance to joy. “ We must do as Æneas did with Dido, through sad storys of tragedies and disasters make a transition unto love. As mariners in rowing look contrary to their courses, so wee, in the search of happiness and felicity, must have our eyes upon the subject of our misery. Those we must first behold which are enemies of our state, and from them make a passage to our government. Wherein if, by knowledge of the adversaries, we can find means to conquer and subdue them,—if, by the strength and opposition of the vertues, we can overcome and subjugate the affections,—then we may triumph in our victorie, and in all security and peace erect that trophy of felicity, that *summum bonum* and chief happiness of man.”

The impediments to man’s happiness are accordingly treated, and, from this onwards, with such a union of power and sensibility, of sweetness and grandeur, as I do not think has ever been surpassed by the best prose writers in our language. It is the privilege of true intellectual greatness to glorify itself in what the world calls adversity, and never did it employ a means more noble than this of Eliot’s. Rewarded with a prison for the service of active years devoted to his country; the tyranny apparently triumphant, to oppose which, he had surrendered fortune and freedom; a disease induced by the foul air of his dungeon making rapid strides upon his life, yet only in its prime;—it is impossible to detect in this illustrious person the quailing of a single nerve. He rises superior to all extremities, in simply continuing equal to himself. The philosopher of the Tower is no more and no less

than the statesman of the house of commons. The essential object of his exertions is in both cases the same, and I look upon these exalted meditations as only a continuance, in intense expression, of the active energies of his life. The steady invasion of disease forbade him to hope that the latter could ever be renewed; and, thus excluded from the sphere of virtuous public action, he left an example of even greater value to the world, — an example to console them in temporary defeat, to carry ardour and enthusiasm unhurt through trial,—an example that should multiply their powers of action and resistance, by strengthening their moral purposes. I see no unnatural contrast therefore in any portion of Eliot's life. I recognise his old brave fearlessness, in his present inculcation of a perfect restraint and self command; I trace the rapid grandeur of his younger days, in the composed magnanimity of morals which sustains him through this “last scene of all.”

Through the impediments that obstruct man's happiness in self-government, Eliot, as I have said, proceeds. Hemmed in as the mind is shown by him to be, he undertakes to point out the passage of escape from this “bondage and captivitie.” The first impediment he notices is “feare.” He goes through the various chances that may occasion it, with a pregnant personal reference; he describes the “effects of power, sudden, various, and fearful; wherein imprisonment, wounds, and death, and that in a thousand forms, are threatened; in which both sickness and poverty are involved:” but in none of these, he says, is there real cause of fear. He concludes his masterly examination thus: “Feare must yield to happiness, or happiness to feare.”

Eliot then passes to what he calls, “the next link of this chaine of our unhappinesse, another part of the fetters that we beare,” to that “inexplicable piece of vanity, our hope.” This he considers in many respects a great evil. “But not to be mistaken,” he says, “for want of some distinction in this case, all hopes are not like, nor all enemies of our government, though all have one incertainty, by the trouble of expectation, and the dependance upon time. All have this vanity and weakness, that their rest is upon others, not in themselves, and in that respect they are obnoxious unto fortune. Yet all have

not a participation in the evil ; all are not sharers in the guilt ; some are natural, and have their principles in nature." The exceptions are occasionally treated, and with a prodigious mass of learned allusion. In conclusion, Eliot dwells with much intenseness on the perpetual agitations in which hope keeps a man ; the fear to lose, the jealousy, the satiety ; and all the incidents that fall to it.

Sorrow approaches next, and this is described as the worst and least excusable of the impediments yet named. For yet, Eliot says, fear has some resource of safety, hope has some desire of happiness. " These," he strikingly continues, " have somewhat for justification and apology, at least for excuse and extenuation of their evils. But sorrow only is inferior to them all. No argument can be made for her defense ; she can pretend neither to happiness, nor safety, nor to what might be subservient to either. As the professed enemy to both, her banners are displayed. She fights against all safety, and bids defiance unto happiness. Her ends, her arts, are in contestation of them both. Reason has nothing to alledge why sorrow should be used ; it propounds no advantage in the end, no advantage in the act, but the mere satisfaction of itself, the sole expletion of that humour ; therefore is it the most improper of all others, as incomparably the worst, and that likewise the effects and consequence on the body will show." The conclusion of the subject is a subtle treatment of the selfishness of sorrow. It is not called forth, he says, by the misfortunes of our friends, for that feeling is pity ; nor by the triumphs of our enemies, for that is envy. " Sorrow is selfishness." For the " privation of whatever we hold dear, of whatever is in a tender estimation," Eliot suggests nobler and better remedies.

Pleasure follows. " And thus we see how these enemies doe threaten us. Fear does anticipate, hope divert, sorrow overturn, the happiness we look for ; or, rather, they fight against the happiness itself ; fear secretly undermining, hope circumventing, sorrow charging it at full. But, above all, the most dangerous is behind, — PLEASURE ! " The reason of the peculiar danger that attends the indulgence of pleasure, is then shown to consist in the so false resemblance it bears in itself to happiness, that it is like to steal through all the

"guards and watches" that we keep, into our strongest "retreats and strongholds." Nothing, Eliot observes, in the course of much splendour of eloquence and reason, "nothing is so petulant and refractory, so exorbitant and irregular, as pleasure. No rule, no law, no authority can contain it; but, like Semiramis, admit her government for a day, she usurps the rule for ever."

Having considered these impediments to happiness, these obstructions to the monarchy of man, Eliot indulges a speculation on the design of Providence, in thus appearing to have opposed, by the creation of such unworthy passions, its own vast and pure design.

"But here an objection or wonder may be made, how, from one fountain, such different streams should flow; how, from the self same head, such contraries should derive themselves; and that greater wonder may arise, how the great architect and workman, who gave being to all things in his divine wisdom, did so create the mind by the infusion of such principles, that the contrariety of their motions should threaten the destruction of his work! For faction and division imply this, and the dissension of the parts hazards the confusion of the whole. It's a great cause of wonder, in the thing, that it is so, but of far greater admiration in the reason. That he, thus wise, thus willing, thus able to give perfection to his art, should, in the masterpiece thereof, in his own portraiture and image, leave it with imperfection! This is enough for wonder and admiration (if it were so). But yet the next has more the inscrutability of that reason;—which turns these imperfections to perfections; which in these contrarities makes agreement; by these differences, these divisions, these dissensions, works unity and concord! This is a cause of wonder and admiration so transcendent, as human capacity cannot reach. O! the incomprehensible glory of the wisdom, by which such secrets are disposed! We may see it almost in every thing, as the effect gives illustration to the cause; and so in fact confirm, though we cannot penetrate, the reason itself. All things, almost generally, will demonstrate it. If we look into the universality of the world, or the concurrence of its parts, are there

more contraries than in the common materials they consist of? Can there be more antipathy than the elements sustain? What greater enemies than fire and water can be found? What more violent than their wars? And so with the air and earth. Dryness and moisture are opposed; than which no things can be more different; yet amongst these what a sweet league and amitie is contracted! What mutual love and correspondency they retain! Fire agrees with water, earth with air, the latter with the former, each severally with other, and so respectively with all! and that which is the perfection of them all, the composition which they make, the frame of those materials, the body so compounded, has its being and existence by the very mixture and diagram of these! Nay, by the want of either, their dissolution is enforced. So necessary is the contrariety of the parts, and the opposition which they make, that, without it, the whole cannot subsist. As thus as in the generals, so in the particulars from thence. In the immense infinitie of creatures, amongst the dead or living, are their antipathies to be numbered? Can arithmetic define the contrarities they have? Stone opposing stone, metal against metal, plant against plant; all war! And animate beasts contrary to beasts, fowls against fowls, fishes against fishes; in hate, in cruelty opposed, killing and devouring each other; and yet all made serviceable to man! Amongst men, too, what contestations are there extant; what wars, what quarrels, what dissensions! Nation in antipathy with nation, kindred opposed to kindred, family against family, man against man! And, besides, how infinite is their difference and variety in temper, in affection, in condition; so that reconciliation seems impossible, and, without it, their subsistence. Yet in the revolution of that wisdom these things are so turned, in the divine wheel of providence their conversions are so made, that all move directly to one end! The alloy and contestation of the parts work the conservation of the whole."

Eliot now sums up the character and objects of the monarchy he seeks to establish; ranging against it its various impediments, that he may enlarge on the means of their removal. This is beautifully done, by an exhibition of the utter vanity of the causes to which, in general, they owe

their existence. Poverty, for instance, he begins with, as a thing which provokes fear, but in which there is no essential cause for fear. He treats this at great length, and with much fervor. Don Guzman himself never said finer things in behalf of poverty. "Are riches," he asks, "of that virtue that their want should seem so terrible? How many have they sold to misery and unhappiness! What worlds of men have they corrupted and betrayed! Corrupted in manners and affections, betrayed of their liberties and lives!" Out of these reflections he plunges into a praise of poverty. He tells the poor what they escape. He sums up the diseases of the rich, famous for their excruciating pains; and contrasts with them the "privileges of poverty, the immunities of want." He then drags forth from antiquity a long list of illustrious poor; he speaks of the lives of Fabricius, Curio, Menenius, Valerius, and Seneca; and holds them up as the best of all examples to comfort and to teach. "Who more valiant than Miltiades?" he exclaims; "who more wise than Cymon? who than Aristides more just? who more temperate than Phocion? Yet all these the poorest as the best of all their times!"

Sickness is treated of by Eliot next, as no just cause of fear. From sickness,—suggested by his own sufferings, he advances through the various effects of power, to imprisonment, to death, but in none can he find "just cause of feare." He acknowledges their aspects to be startling. "To dispel the feare of that which power and greatness may impose, requires a harder labour, because the dangers seem far greater, and are more various, and more sudden. For—not to reflect on poverty and sickness as incidents to this (which wounds and confiscations do imply), those too frequent and two known effects of power—but to look forward and to view it in the other issues, which it has; disgrace, imprisonment, DEATH, and those in all their ugliness and deformity. This last is that tyrant which our apprehensions do so fear; that *monstrum horrendum informe*, which strikes us with such terror; this is that dire aspect, at which our resolutions do so fly; this is that traitor that makes such sedition in our government, and which we must the more carefully oppose for the vindication of our happiness. In this

place, therefore, we will only deal with it, and with the rest hereafter."

Into these passages respecting death Eliot throws all his eloquence :—" Death," he says, " has its consideration but in terror ; and what is assum'd from that, is like the imaginations of children in the darke, a meere fancie and opinion." With a melancholy fondness, the anticipation of their approaching intimacy, he defends death as a friend might be defended. It has been slandered, he says, by those who cannot have known it, " most untruly, most unjustly slandered." " For either happiness it contains, or it repels calamity, or gives satiety and weariness an end, or does prevent the hardness of old age ! A conclusion 'tis to all ; to some their wish ; but to none more meriting and deserving, than to whom it comes uncalled for ! It frees from servitude, dissolves the chains of captives, sets all prisoners at liberty, and restores the banished to their country. All their sorrows and disasters have termination in this point. It has been called *humanis tempestatibus portus*, the harbour of human miseries, the sedation of our troubles. Implying thus the comparison of our life to a fluctuation on the seas, we as poor mariners sailing in the weak vessels of our nature and fortune, the wind tossing us by the continual agitation of her tempests, trouble being instant and upon us, danger most imminent and before us, hope fled, safety nowhere to be found.—Death only is the haven to receive us, where there is calmness and tranquillity, where there is rest from all these storms and tempests ! In that port all fluctuations of our life are quieted and composed ; nor winds nor seas have power upon us there ; fortune and time are excluded from that road ; there we anchor in security, without the distractions of new troubles ; there without danger or hazard do we ride."

With a slight shade of humour, such as issues so naturally out of a subject of this sort, and suits with it so well, Eliot next calls for the evidence of men who have themselves died, as to the character of death. " No great variety," he observes, " can be looked for in this strange kinde of proof, men so seldom returning from the dead." This is simply an introduction to the story of that Athenian whom Plato raised to speak of the terrors below the earth. Such terrors were only

for "the oppressors of mankind, such as had made their wills their laws, tyrants, Arideus and his followers, whom hell itself abhorred!" Far different was the lot of the good, "the servants unto virtue." Life is afterwards beautifully presented by Eliot, in contrast with its dark neighbour, as only "an inne to rest in, a lodging for the night, an hostelry in our travels, in our continual journey to the mansion of our fathers!" Nay, life itself, he exclaims, taken at the best, is only made up of various deaths, one passion dying, another succeeding but to die. "So that our whole life is but an exercise of dying, and all the changes and vicissitudes of nature, death, in a measure and degree! Why then should death be thought so terrible? where is the reason of that fear?" Rather, he afterwards suggests, should it be made a matter of triumph and of glory. "What martyrs have there been even in the work of dying! More joying, more rejoicing, than in all the acts of life! The glory of the Deity, the incarnate majesty of the Son, those incomprehensible mysteries of divinity, then appearing to them, by revelation to their sense, or by illumination of the fancy,—the heavens opening to give free passage to their view,—these as it were descending unto them, giving them the possession here of that happiness, that eternal happiness and felicity, which is the chief object of all hopes;—not that happiness we treat of, the *summum bonum* of this life, the *bonum publicum* of our monarchy, but the supernatural felicity to come, the transcendent happiness hereafter!"

Nor will Eliot rest at these examples of the victorious agonies of martyrdom, since they are sustained as it were by the divine presence. There is a bravery which comes nearer to his own, a grandeur of moral courage which needs no miracle to help it. "I will resort," he says, "to patterns of morality. Then, to see the confidence in them, the willingness and cheerfulness of dying,—take it from those Grecians, those three hundred at Thermopolis, who, for their country, opposed themselves to all the power of Xerxes—to those many millions of the Persians, whose thirst scarce seas could satisfy, nor whole regions for one day find provisions for their hunger! Yet unto these, those Grecians could expose themselves, so few against so many, for the safety of their mother. The clouds

of darts that fell on them, they tearm'd an umbrell for the sunne ; their danger they made glory ; their death they thought their life ; so far from terror was it that they made it the subject of their hopes. O happy men ! thus for their country to have died ! Most happy country, to have brought forth such men ! whose death became the character of her life, and was to her and them a patent of immortality ! " Among the crowding thoughts of many examples of this kind, Eliot kindles into a greater fervour, and he fills the solitary recesses of his dungeon with men of Rome, of Athens, and of Sparta, — " fellows, whom death itself might fear, sooner than be fearful unto them. Mirrors of men," he finely continues, " are chronicled for a free acceptance of that fate ; women did scorn their children that did not scorn to flie it ! " And as Eliot thus recalls the past, an example nobler than all the others rises up, because completer in the elements of moral grandeur, in the perfection of self-control, the monarchy of man. The philosopher Ramus stands before him, " who died not as Cato, to avoid the dying by his enemies, nor suddenly, to prevent the torment of the time, nor as those Grecians, in the heat of blood and danger, when death does come unthought, — but giving it all leave of preparation, admitting all circumstance of terror, in that form which his enemies had cast, to the extremitie of their malice, — so he encounters, so he receives and meets it, even in its very contemplation ! His speculations were upon it, it was the subject of his thoughts, and in that he valued it more precious than his life."

To this illustrious shadow of the past, sir WALTER RALEIGH succeeds ! His image, indeed, had scarcely vanished from those dark walls that now surrounded Eliot, and his spirit remained in the magnanimity of Eliot's soul. " Shall I not add, as parallel to this, a wonder and example of our own ? such as if that old philosopher were yet living, without dis-honor he might acknowledge, as the equal of his virtue. Take it in that — else unmatched — fortitude of our RALEIGH ! the magnanimity of his sufferings, that large chronicle of fortitude ! All the preparations that are terrible presented to his eye — guards and officers about him — fetters and chains upon him — the scaffold and executioner before him — and then the axe, and

more cruel expectation of his enemies ! And what did all this work on the resolution of this worthy ? Made it an impression of weak fear ? or a *distraction of his reason* ? Nothing so little did that great soul suffer ! but gathered more strength and advantage upon either. His mind became the clearer, as if already it had been freed from the cloud and oppression of the body ; and the trial gave an illustration to his courage, so that it changed the affection of his enemies, and turned their joy to sorrow, and all men else it filled with admiration ; — leaving no doubt but this, whether death were more acceptable to him, or he more welcome unto death ! "

How nobly expressed this is ! The style of Eliot, uncramped by the authorities to which he chose at times to link it, was as free and grand as his own free thoughts. These his friend Hampden, as the treatise advances, alludes to with a profound deference. " Your apprehensions, that ascend a region above those clouds which shadow us, are fitt to pierce such heights ; and others to receive such notions as descend from thence ; which, while you are pleased to impart, you make the demonstrations of your favour to become the rich possessions of your ever faithful friend."

Eliot betrays a melancholy reluctance to let the subject of death pass from him. Assuming that these examples of fearlessness in dying are of too exalted a character for the emulation of all men, that all have not the same motives, or means, of sustainment, he very beautifully says : " There is no affection within man but has given examples in this case. Hope, joy, sorrow, fear itself, has conquered it, the weakest of all others ! Fear of death has forced men to act the thing they fear." And, after some very subtle reasoning to this point, he proceeds : " therefore, that truth so known, we may in a generality conclude, that death and fear are conquered both by love. Sorrow can do as much. And we have it in the infirmest of her daughters, pity, which is the tenderest of all thoughts, yet that subdues this fear, as Tacitus notes it of the multitudes after the fall of Otho." Yet Eliot concludes not even here. Still he lingers on the praise and the privilege of death. " I shall then no more be sick ; I shall then no more be bound ; I shall then leave off to fear ; I shall then not die again. If

death were an evil at the first, then it shall be no more. All the crosses and disasters, all the calamities and afflictions, all things that are fearful and evil in this life, then shall I be free from! No death shall thenceforth be an interruption to my happiness, therefore why should I fear it? But if death have all these privileges, why then do we live? why do we not, as Cleombrotus, having read Plato's discourses of the immortality of the soul, precipitate ourselves? hasten to that excellence? press to that rich magazine of treasures? why do we bear such miseries in life, there being such felicity in death? and the transition in our power, so facile and so ready? The answer with the ethicks is emergent: *mors non debet esse fuga actionum, sed actio.* Death must not be a flight from action, but an action. Subterfuge is the property of a coward; blows and wounds are the honor of a soldier. Dangers must not affright, but harden him, where the cause requires his hazard." And through much eloquence he proceeds, impressing over again, and with an increased fervour, the necessity of subduing fear, "though the sun itself should tremble — though the immense fabric of the world should shake;" and at last concluding by praying of all men, in all cases, to "expect calmly that issue which time and virtue have appointed. Thus we must look for death; not as an enemy, but a friend; which in his own hours visits us, expects no invitation, may not be compelled, but has a free liberty before him. When he comes, he comes attended by many privileges, decked with flowers of happiness, rest, and sweetness, and exemption of all the evils of life. Therefore there is not the least cause to fear it, or to raise that jealousy and distraction in our government."

The duty of opposing the desires is the next matter discussed. Eliot, after a delicate handling of the bodily passions, points out the jealousy and restless irresolution of desire, agitated between the doubt of attainment and the doubt of loss, hindering even its own satisfaction, and joined with sorrow. "Shall this, then," he asks, "have entertainment in the heart, where happiness and felicity should dwell? That it is a vanity and mere nothing, either the act or the consequence do prove it; for, in itself, what is it more than an imagination and light fancy? In the effect and consequence, does any man

conceive there is the least advantage in the thought? Does the most affectionate in this case think that the object is drawn nearer by his wish? "Tis true, of faith 't was said, 'believe and then thou hast,' but never of this desire. We may desire and want; nay, that want is but desire. Desire does make the want. As it is nothing in itself, nothing but want does follow it — a vaine and fruitless issue, like the mother. Nor is this all for which wisdom does oppose it, that it is, thus, a vanity and mere nothing. No! as an evil likewise she contests it; nay, as the ground and root of all our miseries, the spring and fountain of calamity!" Wielding, then, vast knowledge with the most perfect ease, giving freshness to old truths, and binding together by living ties the rude materials of dead learning, — Eliot goes through the dangers that are in desire; "the cares, anxieties, and doubts; the thousand troubles and distractions, which men in hope and men in love are charged with; for these in the notion are but one, though distinguished in the expression. Pardon me, Love," interposes Eliot here, "that soe hardly I have matched thee! it is my reason, not my affection, that does speake it." He passionately continues, — "What theatre or amphitheatre will serve to represent the tragedies it has acted? In tragic scenes of blood, what executions have been done by the hand of this affection! Man a butcher upon man, acquaintance on acquaintance, familiar on familiar, friend upon friend, kinsman upon kinsman, brother upon brother, father upon son, the son upon the father! drinking up blood like leaches; nay, making sacrifices of themselves, to eternal horrour and confusion; and, with their own hands, forcing a passage to that darkness, which even hell itself does tremble at! What numberless examples of this kind have love, covetousness, ambition, and their like, almost every day exhibited, and are still contriving, to threaten, as it were, the destruction of mankind!"

In accordance with his general plan of showing in the profoundest view the vanity of the particular passion, by showing the objects that usually excite it to be vain, Eliot now treats the ordinary motives to love. In a portion of his previous discussion of it, he had reduced it simply, in its voluptuous form, to "what is pleasant;" and "pleasure" he had

shown to be unworthy. "The felicitie we look for is an action: not a thought, not a dream, or imagination of the fancie; it is an action of virtue!" As of one of the motives to the passion, he then speaks of the vanity of beauty. "What," he asks, "can be found in beauty — the object that love has — so to possess the affection of the mind, and cause a defection from reason? The description that was given it by that unfortunate piece of merit, who died where now I live, may be a resolution in this point, who has it in that idea of his wife, that —

" — carnal beauty is but skin-deep,
But to two senses known;
Short even of pictures, shorter liv'd than life,
And yet survives the love that's built thereon!"

"wherein there is such a latitude of sense, such a perspicuity of truth, that if all other fancies were collected, this might be the judgment of them all. Here, in an abstract, is a full comprehension of their natures, with all plainness, yet elegantly, rendered."

The name of this "unfortunate piece of merit" may have already suggested itself to the reader. It is sir Thomas Overbury. Keen was Eliot's sympathy for oppression in all cases; and here,—in his love of literature (which Overbury's writings, as I have before had an opportunity of saying, had, in that age, most delicately adorned), and in some circumstances of his own condition,—much conspired to sharpen even that sharp sympathy. He dwells for some time with fondness on this quotation from Overbury's poem, and then, in a passage of lively interest, apologises as it were to the reader. "Let it not," he says, "seem a wonder that I write this fancy for authority, being so new, and borne amongst ourselves. I must confess my ignorance, if it be so. I esteem it not the less as begotten in this age, and as it is our own I love it much the more. 'T is truth which I do look for, and the propriety of expression to endear it, not only to the judgment, but the affections. Making an insinuation also by the language for the sense and reason of the thing. This I find here, in this Theoreme, in as great fullness, and as succinctly rendered, as the exoticks can pretend. Why then we should not value it to the truth and

merit which it bears, is a wisdom past the apprehension of my weakness. I must declare my folly in that point. As it is of my country, I honour it the more; and as it was the production of this place, my admiration is the greater, that in such solitude and darkness, where sorrow and distraction mostly dwell, such happy entertainments and such minutes were enjoyed."

I am not acquainted with any passage in the language which expresses, in a few admirable words, a sounder canon of criticism than is to be observed in the course of the above. It is unnecessary to direct the reader's attention to the deep meaning of the closing lines. I may add, that the feeling so strongly intimated here, of opposition to a prevalent fashion of that age, — a fashion which belongs, perhaps, to the literary coxcombry of all ages, — is in many other parts of his work emphatically urged by Eliot.

Another object of desire — riches — is now discussed. The passage is a beautiful companion to that of the depreciation of poverty as an object of fear. His opening reasons against the avarice of wealth are strongly stated. "Preposterous and absurd," are the mildest epithets he affords to it at last. He describes riches to be "deceitful in their nature — whereas we think them somewhat, when truth does speake them nothing; deceitful in their qualities — being flitting and uncertain, without any constancie or stabilitie, always wing'd, and flying from one subject to another; deceitful in their use — as we take them to be helpful to our happiness, though working the contrary by continuall anxieties and cares! Why should we then desire them, being no way to be trusted, but in all consisting of fallacie and frauds?" Very beautiful are the series of questions that follow. "Hast thou worth or meritt that might challenge them as due? That is a mysterie to them. They cannot discerne it. The worthless and the worthy are equal in their sense." "They are the maine occasion," he continues, "of all differences, the ager contentious, as it were, the field of quarrel and contention, as that antiently neare Berwick to the English and Scotch nations." Nobly Eliot sums up their high demerits. "If these be their proprieties, how can we then desire them? If they be but

serviceable to these, — if they have no fellowship with honesty — if they dissolve the powers of reason and of virtue — if they be distractive and contentious — blind, mad, deceitful, and uncertain, — what is it that should make that attraction in our hearts, and disturb our self-sovereignty and command?" The subject is closed with a very fine allusion to the only one mode of converting the dross of riches into true gold, by the alchemy of virtue. You may have riches, Eliot says, you may desire them, if your purpose is to convert them to good. " But how is that?" he asks; " by what means must it be done? The poet does expresse it —

— "divitias probas
Virtutis instrumenta facite. Sic
Bonī credimini, et vitam beatam
Degere poteritis!"

" Make riches instruments of virtue, let them be servants to that mistress. Soe you may live happily and well."

Honour is the next subject treated by Eliot as an object of desire. This, in the worldly acceptation, is regarded by him with an extreme scorn. " Something still may be said for beautie and for riches; but the honour and glory that the world so names, have noe reality or substance, noe solidd being or existence, but are suppositionis and imaginarie, like those essences of philosophers, *quaे quasi sunt*, as they say, which are but as if they were." " Let the description of that author," Eliot continues, having indulged a severe censure upon the worldly cause of honour, fame, — " let the description of that author speake the nature of the subject. Let Fame, from which honour is deduced, shew what this Honour is, it being the daughter of that mother. In that mother, take the qualitie of the daughter. Of which Virgill thus: —

" Illam Terra parens, ira irritata deorum,
Extremam, ut perhibent, Cœo Eoceladoque sororem
Progenuit, pedibus celerem, et perniciibus alia,
Monstrum horrendum, ingens : cui, quot sunt corpore pluma,
Tot vigiles oculi subter, mirabile dictu,
Tot lingua, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.
Nocte volat coll medio terraque, per umbram
Stridens, nee dulci declinat lumina somno.
Luce sedet custos, aut summi culmine tecti,
Turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbis ;
Tam ficti pravique tenax, quam nuntia veri."

— which Eliot translates with freedom) — “‘ First, as sister to the Gyants, the Earth produced it in malice of the Gods, — swift-footed, light-winged, a huge and horrid monster; having that strange thing to be told under each feather of her body, a prying watchful eye; and unto that both ears and tongues as many; and mouths not fewer; — always in sound, and motion. All night it flies through the middle of the heavens, and divides the darkness, giving no place to rest. And in the day, it sits on the supreme tops of houses, or in high turrets, a terror to whole cities, being as well the herald of lies and mischiefs, as a reporter of the contrary ! ’ This Virgill makes both her nature and descent.”

Adopting the suggestion of the Latin poet, Eliot now works out a very fine contrast between the huge, but incapable, energies of the Titans, and the calm accomplishing grandeur of the Gods. In the eyes of the latter, he says, and to the perceptions of philosophy, fame is nothing. The following passage succeeds. It is a masterly dissection of one of the things denominated honour, in shape of an inquiry into the claim of hereditary rank ; which for sober satire, joined to exalted reason, could with difficulty be excelled. It calls to my memory some forcible and eloquent things, which are urged in a style precisely similar, by one of the most original thinkers of this or of any age, Mr. Walter Savage Landor, in his delightful “ Examination of Shakspeare for Deer-stealing.” “ And now to see,” says Eliot, “ whether this ‘ honor’ be confined within an order, limitted to persons and degrees, or left promiscuously to all, as their worths and qualities shall deserve it ? Wherein let reason be the judge. Is it the reward of virtue or of fortune they would make it ? Let them answer who so magnify this pretence. Do they apply that honor to their houses or themselves ? Is it the distinction of their families, or the guerdon of their merits ? If they will take it for distinction, ‘tis but a name, and the poorest. The basest have as much, and small cause there is to glory in that subject. If it be the distinction of their families, the character of their houses, though it once implied a glory, what can it be to them more than treasures are to porters ? But they will say, it is the glory of their ancestors, the acquisition of their virtues, ‘and from them it does descend hereditarily to

us.' So may the porter say. That treasure is his master's, and by his will imposed upon his shoulders ; but to whose use, and in whose right, has he received it ? in his owne, or to his owne profit and advantage ? Masters would take this ill, if their servants should usurp it ; and all men would condemn them, both of falsehood and ingratitude. So is it, in the other, an injury to their ancestors, if they pretend that honor to be theirs. They can but carry it to *their* use, as a monument of *their* virtues that acquired it, not in their own interest and right, to the glory of themselves ; nay, not without their shame, whose purchase cannot equal it, being but the sole inheritors of the fortune, not the worth. But if they waive their families, and reduce it to themselves,—between their virtues and their fortunes, how will they divide it ? If fortune do appropriate it,—then the most vicious, the most ignorant, the most dishonorable, may be honorable ; slaves, and they, may be equal in this kind ; for not seldom have they tasted the liberality of fortune, and this honor none will envy them. If virtue be the loadstone that procures it, where is it ? Let them shew it in the effect, and then I hope they 'll grant, that all so qualified may be honorable. All men that have the virtue may participate. Where, then, is the propriety they challenge ? where is that peculiar interest they claim ? Certainly not in this. This honor will not bear it, which is the crown of virtue ! All persons, all orders, all degrees extant, may be capable thereof. They are without exception or exclusion, and, for such other honors as are fancied, let them enjoy an immunity therein, I shall rather pity than malign them ! "

After this, as it were to while away the time, Eliot brings up in aid of the general question new " squadrons of authorities ;"—disputing some, exalting others. " In one word," he subsequently says, " honor is no other than to follow goodness. To be a servant unto virtue, is to be master of true honor, and without that service no honor can be had. Therefore the Romans, those most honorable above all men, in the temples which they dedicated, joined those of virtue and honor to each other, and to that of honor left no entrance or accession but through the gate of virtue ; shewing by that symbol where true honor rests, and how it is attained, which is by following virtue. But how

is that? how is virtue to be followed? in a fair and easy pace? will that conduce to honor? can honor be so had?" Eliot answers these questions with elaborate care, and closes the subject,—after a strong reiteration of his protest against the hereditary claim, that honour should not be "appropriated to any order or degree, as is pretended," for that "to be gotten and descended even of princes is an accident,"—with an allusion to those enemies of Roman tyranny, whose honour, because it was true, outshone the worst envy of the times. Eliot had a peculiar right to call to mind these men, for in his own nature he presented some of their noblest qualities—the fiery energy of Cassius, and Brutus' brave philosophy. "Tacitus," he says, "notes it upon the funeral of Junia, where so many famous images were exhibited, the glory of their families, that Brutus and Cassius being omitted through the envy of those times, they outshined the rest because their statues were not seen."

'Eo ipso quod effigies eorum non hisebantur prefulgebant,' as he has it. They being so concealed, their glory was the greater. Which shews that honor is most had, when it is least affected. Why, then, should this disturb us with ambition? why should it make a faction in our government? why should it cause the distraction of our hopes? Ambition cannot purchase it, the hope thereof is vain; no art, no practice, can acquire it, but by the rule of virtue. And so only, as the virtue is intended, let virtue be our aim. Leave that desire of honor. Let it not be a worke of our affections, for in that case we must fight with honor as with enemies."

The reader will have remarked with what a steady purpose, in how close a vice of logic, the main object and argument of the treatise is kept. Eliot now examines his position.—"And thus we see from the several objects of desire, how little cause there is for that disturbance and impulsion. Honor contains no reason, being rather an enemie than friend to that affection, flying and not following it. Beauty has as little, consisting but of vanity. Riches much less, that are but instruments of corruption. Also for fear, poverty, death, sickness, and the like, which have as small warrant and authority for that passion. Let us now search what more there is in Pleasure, that coun-

terfeit of happiness, and apply our laws to that. For, being the most dangerous of our adversaries, it must the more cautiously be dealt with." To the subject of pleasure, accordingly, Eliot reverts, with the intention of impressing more emphatically in that regard the duty of self-restraint. A vast number of authorities are brought to bear upon it, and Eliot takes occasion to express the most exalted admiration of Homer. He calls him a "prophet and a poet." He amuses himself at the same time with notices of Lucian's comments upon Homer, and pursues at great length the analogy between the resistance of Ulysses to the Syrens, and a perfect self-restraint in man. He bound himself, he says, he restricted his liberty. "But wherewith was that done? What were the obligations incurred? How shall this come to us? Most properly and most readily, if we will endeavour but that means, if we will use the example of that worthy. The same safety is for us, which was then wrought to him, and that, that great prophet has delivered, with all sincerity and fulness. You know he makes Vlysses then on ship board. And that much experienced man, most curious of all knowledge, would needs add to that the musick of the Syrens, the perception of that excellence, though not trusting to himself for the resistance of their powers, in which both danger and destruction were implied. To avoid this, he feigns to be fastened to the mast; his men, meanwhile, do intend their labours, having their senses stopped (vulgar appetites being not capable of such dainties). Now, as this musick was but pleasure, those Syrens the occasion, so the virtues were the cords that did restrain and bind him, reason the mast to which he was so fastened, philosophy the ship in which he sailed and went; — and in this ship, thus fastened to that mast, having had both the occasion and delight, he escap't the dangers threatened, and in that preserved the safety of his course. But what was that? the same that is our government, — the way to happiness and felicity! — this was his Ithaca, this was that course intended, and with these helps, notwithstanding all the difficulties, this he accomplished and performed! Now is not this a plain direction unto us? Is not our remedy, our deliverance from this danger, aptly expressed in this mirror and example? Our syrens are not more, their harmonies not

stronger ; the same ship we have, with the same tackle ; the same ropes, the same mast, continue still. Cannot our course, then, be the same ? Is not the same safety yet before us ? If we doubt that tackle will not hold us against those strong enchantments, let us stop our senses, as Vlysses did with his men, and first avoid the occasions. Nothing is lov'd, not known. Let us, then, stint our curiosity herein, and the desire will leave us. But how is that ? how shall that work be done ? Is it to shun all pleasure, all occasions ? That cannot be, nor is it requisite to this. For virtue in the concrete is not absolute, nor to be so expected in our monarchy."

All this is subtly and well expressed ; and its deep spirit of philosophy has further vent in the following remarkable passage : — " We daily see it in experience, that those who have least affections are most violent (least, I mean, extensively, in respect of number, and the object) ; their passions being impetuous as contracted to that narrowness, and masterless in that. As Tacitus notes it in Tiberius, who, being most reserved and hidden unto all men, to Sejanus yet was open and incautious. So it is likewise unto others. The heart, being straightened by some objects, growes more violent in those passions ; the affection does inlarge, as the scope thereof is lessened. Therefore we thus expose that precept of division. That pleasures may be a remission to the mind, not an intention — that we may taste, not swallow them — that the appetition may be obtemperate to reason, wherein only true pleasures doe consist."

Carrying out his plan of reverting to the more dangerous impediments in the way of man's monarchy, Eliot now resumes the subject of sorrow : — " Sorrow," he again insists, " is a perfect enemy, standing in such antipathy with happiness, that it is irreconcileable for our government. Therefore, to this also we must oppose all the resistance we have ; for this moves most violently against us ; and, if it get possession of our hearts, if it once enter on that fort, all our happiness is gone ; our monarchy is subverted ! For it destroys the end, the felicity we look for, and then the means is uselesse. It dissolves it in the principle, and so brings it to confusion. For where sorrow is, no felicity can be, and a mind so affected

can have no taste of happiness. To encounter it, therefore, as physicians do diseases, we will first meet it in the cause; for, if that can be removed, the effect forthwith will follow it. The object being gone, the affection must fall after it." Eliot then points out, with renewed earnestness, the fallacy and folly of supposing, that things which assume at times the aspects of sorrow are in reality sorrowful. He argues the great principle of the poet of nature, that "There's a Providence that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will." Above all, however, he impresses the virtue of opposing whatever appears in sorrow's shape. The exercise, he says, will be great, a discipline of humanity, and an invaluable example to others. "For, are not soldiers sometimes heightened in their courage by the valour of their fellows? Do not the valiant often receive new fortitude and spirits by the acts of magnanimity of others? Has not admiration, has not emulation, this effect, to work the likeness of that virtue which it has seen before it? To reduce to act the image of that idea, which the apprehension has conceived, and, from the excellence of the pattern, to draw an antitype thereof. Wherefore were exhibited those bloody spectacles at Rome — those butcheries of men — those tragic representations to the people — but to inure them to blood, to harden them in dangers, to familiar them with death? And shall not better acts, to better ends directed, have the like power and operation? Shall not divinity, by the works of divine men opposing their afflictions, have as great force in precedent and example, as these Romans had by that fighting with beasts, or contesting one another, to harden, to encourage, the minds of the more virtuous, against all difficulties, all dangers?"

Eliot, further, after remarking on Plato's noble commentary of the inscription on the Delphic oracle, *γνωθι σεαυτον*, urges this consideration: — "It is required of man, that he should profit many. It is a common duty of mankind, as far as ability may extend, still to do good to all, or, if not that, to some, as opportunity shall be granted him. Or, if he fail in that, yet to his neighbours, or at least unto himself. But here, here, in this act of passion and wrestling with calamities, there is advantage given for all. In this contestation of those things

we call miseries, there is a performance of all these. First, to thyself, thou profittest through the favor of the Gods, that give thee this instruction, this education, this trial, this knowledge of thyself, this confirmation of thy virtue. Then to thy neighbours, and all others, thou art profitable by thy precedent and example. Thy fortitude adds courage unto them, stout and valiant. How, then,— how, in this excellency of duty, in this great duty of advantage — of advantage to ourselves, of advantage to our neighbours, of advantage unto all — we should repine and sorrow, as 't is a prejudice to our happiness, it's a wonder unto reason!" With much beauty, Eliot afterwards disposes of the last and best plea that would seem to remain for sorrow — a friend at the grave of his friend. "Let me first ask this question of the sorrower. For whose sake that passion is assumed? For his that is so lost, or for thine own that lost him? Answer to this, and make a justification for thyself. If thou wilt say for his, where is the evil that he suffers? Wherein lies the reason of that grief? Design it out; give it some character to express it. Is it in that he is dead? in that he has made a transition to the elders? That cannot be; for death contains no evil, as our former proofs have manifested; but is a priviledge of immortality, an eternity of happiness. Is it for that he is not? that he is not numbered with the living? That were to lament, but because he is not miserable. Thou canst not but acknowledge the distraction of thy fears, the anxiety of thy cares, the complexion of thy pleasures, the mixture of thy sorrows! With all these, and upon all, no rest, no quiet, no tranquility, but a continual vexation of thy thoughts, a servile agitation of thy mind from one passion to another! And wilt thou grieve for him, that has his freedom, his immunity from these? On the other side: is that sorrow for thyself, that thou hast lost a friend, — the sweetness, the benefit of his friendship — thy comfort in society — the assistance of thy business — the sublevation of thy cares — the extenuation of thy griefs — the multiplication of thy joys — thy castle — thy counsel — thy sword — thy shield — thy store — thy health — thy eye — thy ear — thy taste — thy touch — thy smell — the CATHOLICON of thy happiness (for all these are attributes of friendship)? — consider, first, whether

friendship may not change, whether a breach and enmity may not follow it, as not seldom happens in the most strict conjunctions, with which then no enmity may compare! Then 't were better thus to have lost it, that evil being prevented, and the obligation, the virtue, kept intire! But, if that doubt prevails not; if thou supposest a perpetuity in that friendship, an assurance of that love; is it not envy in thee, and unworthiness thereof, for these respects, those temporary benefits to thyself, to grudge at his happiness and felicity, which is infinite and celestial? Justice may resolve how far this is from friendship, how unworthy of that name!" This sorrowing, Eliot afterwards observes, is variously applied. " Marcellus wept when he had taken Syracuse; Alexander, to have no more worlds to conquer." Concluding with the phrase of the Ethicks, that to conquer what might be fancied real calamities " not only makes a man a conqueror, and wise, but equal, nay superior, to the Gods," —Eliot, in a passage of great eloquence, banishes sorrow from his government.

Having thus disposed of the impediments to the monarchy of man — of the obstructing passions — Eliot now turns to the elevation of the monarchy itself, to the virtues by whose exercise and operation, condensed into two great purposes, the structure is to be raised. " Our next care must be how to obtain the virtue, how to possess the means, which must procure that end. And if that can be acquired, then is our felicity complete, then we have that perfection of our government, the sumnum bonum in philosophy, the bonum publicum in our policy, the true end and object of the monarchy of man. Two parts it has — action and contemplation. Of which the first divides itself into two branches, as the virtue agendo and dicendo, doing and saying, both which concur to action. By doing, is intended those travels and motions of the body that are necessary in the performance of those works which the duty and office of our callings require; — by saying, is meant that expression of the tongue, whereby the intelligence of the heart is made communicable to others, and the thoughts are conveyed to the understanding of the hearers. In these two all action does consist, and so that part of the virtue and perfection. Both these have a rule, and level, and di-

rection, which we did touch before, as the common duty of mankind. In that duty their office is implied, which is that it be profitable to many. In the general good and benefit it must be extended, first to all, then, after, to ourselves." Here Eliot interposes in a parenthesis this valuable reminder :—" For all right of office is destroyed by the inversion of this order. To reflect first upon ourselves, our own particular interests, and then upon the general, is the contrary of duty, the breach of office and relation. Therefore to the publick, both our words and actions must first move, without respect, without retraction, for our private. They must first intend the common good and benefit, and so descend by degrees unto ourselves. For as members are in bodies for the perfection of the man, so men in bodies politicke, as parts of these societies, and for the conservation of the whole, and to that end their chief endeavour must incline." Eliot then, with a noble fervour, inculcating the practice of his own life, thus resumes :—" Here some questions will arise ; — how far this shall engage us ? what latitude it imports ? what cautions and exceptions it admits ? Difficulties may occur, and then involve us in anxieties, with troubles and perplexities disturbing our tranquillities, distracting the quietness we are in. And shall we forsake that sweetness ? shall we neglect that fatness of our peace (as the fig and olive said of old) for the publick use and service ? for the profit and commodity of others ? Yes ! no difficulties may retard us, no troubles may divert us, no exception is admitted to this rule ! but where the greater good is extant, the duty and office there is absolute, without caution, or respect. That greater good appearing, nothing may dissuade us from the work — no respect of ease, no respect of pleasure, no respect of the troubles we may meet, — but in performance of that duty, in accomplishment of that office, our troubles must seem pleasant, our labours must seem facile, all things easy, all things sweet therein ; — for the rule is, *Officium non fructum sequi*, to observe the duty, not the benefit, to seek that end which is propounded in the general, not to propound an end and reason of our own. But dangers may be incident ? it may betray our safeties, and expose our fortunes, expose our liberties, expose our lives, to hazard ? —

and shall we, then, adventure upon these? — shall we forsake our safeties? shall we incur those dangers, for foreign interests and respects, for that which concerns but others, which is foreign unto us? Yes, — this likewise we are bound to, our obligation lies in this. No danger, no hazard, may deter us. The duty and office stand intire."

In this first division of materiel for Eliot's grand structure the reader will recognise the old principle of the ancients, in their separation of the characteristics of wisdom. The one, which we have just seen described, comprehending the beginning and end of all things to be done, *φρόντισ*, prudentia; the other, which Eliot is now about to subjoin, compassing the manner and ways conduced to those ends, *σοφία*, sapientia. "The rest," he says, describing the latter, "all, follow this, and are but servants to this mistress,— several operations of this faculty having their appellations from their works. If wee would ask what fancy does intend, what is the signification of that name, the answer is, 'T is wisdom, — the divine spirit of the mind, that hunts out all intelligence. If we may enquire what memory does import, the same answer serves, 'T is wisdom, the influence of that faculty. For where the fancy cannot keep all things upon intention, memory is suggested for supply of that defect, and so makes up the wisdom. If we would know what judgment does implie, the resolution is the same. 'T is but an act of wisdom, the operation of that power. Therefore in this consists the perfection of all theory, the sum of all contemplation, and so that other part of virtue.'" Very beautiful is the passage that follows: — "But how may *this* wisdom, then, be had? Where may we seek and find it? The answer is most obvious, — in the doctrines of philosophy. For philosophy is the introduction to this wisdom; so both the word and reason do import; for by the word is signified only a love of wisdom, a love of that wisdom which we speak of; and that love will be accompanied with an endeavour to attain it, which is intended in the common sense and notion. For that science of philosophy is but a guest of wisdom, the study of that excellence. And so Plato gives it in his gradations unto happiness. Philosophy is the first step he makes, as the desire of wisdom;—to which he adds the study, and contempla-

tion to attain it. From that study and speculation he arises unto wisdom, from that wisdom unto happiness. So that philosophy is the principle. Wisdom does there begin, which has its end in happiness, and happiness in this order is the production of philosophy. In sum, all contemplation is but this, but this study of philosophy. If it ascend the heavens to view the glory of that beauty, philosophy does direct it. If it descend to measure the centre of the earth, philosophy goes with it. If it examine nature and her secrets, philosophy must assist it. If it reflect on causes or effects, that turn is by philosophy. The contemplation of all ends, all beginnings, all successes, is propounded by philosophy. So that philosophy, in contemplation, is as prudence in the virtues, the architect and chief workman, that gives motion and direction to the rest. Great is the excellence of philosophy, as it is chief in contemplation, and the accompaniment of that virtue. Greater much it is, as it is a principle to wisdom, and an instructor to the counsell. But beyond all comparison it is greatest, as it is the first degree to happiness, as it leads on to that perfection of our government! No words can sufficiently expresse it, nor render a true figure of that worth. Being in contemplation, contemplation only must conceive it!"

The question then occurs — Which of these great divisions of the virtues is to be considered the highest and most perfect? — And Eliot answers it. As an exercise of the faculties, in pure and single grandeur, he pronounces at once in favour of philosophy, of contemplation; but is careful to modify this immediately after, by pronouncing no wisdom complete without the active practices of virtue. Speaking on the first head, he urges the superior greatness of the contemplative philosopher, in regard that his thoughts are fixed on the final intelligence: — "And he that levels at that mark, though he come short, yet shoots higher than he that aims but at man. Besides, there is this advantage in it; that nothing can be contracted from the president to prejudice or corrupt it, which lower examples may induce; but much perfection may be added, by the elevation of the mind. As chemicks in the disquisition of the elixar, though the wonder be not

found, yet have extracted great varieties by that labour, excellent demonstrations by that work. It is the way in part to resume the image wee have lost, for that was not an outward figure, but a resemblance in virtue. If that similitude was laid in virtue, it cannot so aptly be repaired as by the imitation of the Deity, in whom the exactness of all virtue does remain. This help philosophy does give us in the speculation of eternity ;— and likewise it derives to our present view and prospect the knowledge of all antiquity, in what *their* happiness consisted, what were the ingredients of that compound, and how it was lost at first, whence the judgement may resolve, what is true happiness to us." On the second head, however, Eliot immediately subjoins : — " But if so, — if philosophy and contemplation have this fruit, — that these degrees of happiness be in them, and so direct a way to happiness itself, — how is it that we involve us in such toils, such anxieties and perplexities, to acquire it ? It is a vanity, and folly, by such hard labour to effect, when a less trouble, a less travail, comes so near ? If philosophy and contemplation can procure it, — *those sweet and gentle motions of the soul.* — what need the co-operations of the body, those actions and those passions, which virtue does require, and which so often force distraction, nay, destruction upon men ? Yet they are needful, for without virtue, true happiness cannot be, and these compose the other half of virtue. For contemplation and action make the whole. Virtue consists only in both, and in part there is no perfection. Therefore to contemplation, action also must be joined, to make a compleat virtue, and by that virtue only true happiness may be had." And, careful not to be misunderstood in what he had said before of the supremacy of contemplation, he adds (with an intimation that he will discuss the matter more fully in a future treatise — a project stopped by death !) that contemplation must be considered the chief, for " contemplation is the beginning of all action, the principle of that motion : action but a derivative of that, and no derivation can be equal to the primitive, no second comparable with the first. All actions are but the emanation of the will, and the will receives her instance from the apprehension of the mind. But still," he adds, " both must

be concurrent. Virtue is a composition of them both. Contemplation must prepare the matter of our happiness, action dispose, and order it."

Eliot's great purpose now accomplished, he closes his labours with an exalted eulogy on the Independence and Superiority of the Mind. I present it to the reader entire. It is worthy to have closed a work of such nobility in conception, and power in execution.

" This makes up that perfection of our monarchy — that happiness of the mind, which, being founded upon these grounds, built upon these foundations, no power or greatness can impeach. Such is the state and majesty, that nothing can approach it, but by the admission of these servants; such is the safety and security, that nothing can violate or touch it, but by these instruments and organs; such is the power and dignity, that all things must obey it. All things are subject to the mind, which, in this temper, is the commander of them all. No resistance is against it. It breaks through the orbes and immense circles of the heavens, and penetrates down to the centre of the earth! It opens the fountains of antiquity, and runs down the streams of time, below the period of all seasons! It dives into the dark counsels of eternity, and into the abstruse secrets of nature! It unlocks all places, and all occasions are alike obvious to it! It does observe those subtil passages in the air, and the unknown paths, and traces, in the deeps! There is that great power of operation in the mind, that quickness and velocity of motion, — that in an instant it does passe from extremity to extremity, from the lowest to the highest, from the extremest point of the west, to the horoscope and ascendant in the east. It measures in one thought the whole circumference of heaven, and by the same line it takes the geography of the earth. The air, the fire, all things of either, are within the comprehension of the mind. It has an influence on them all, whence it takes all that may be useful, and that may be helpful in its government. No limitation is prescribed it, no restriction is upon it, but in a free scope it has liberty upon all. And in this liberty is the excellence of the mind,—in this power and composition of the mind, is the perfection of the man,—in that perfection is the happiness we look for,— when in all

sovereignty it reigns, commanding, not commanded,—when at home, the subjects are subject and obedient, not refractory and factious,—when abroad, they are as servants, serviceable and in readiness, without hesitation or reluctance,—when to the resolutions of the counsell, to the digests of the laws, the actions and affections are inclined — this is that *summum bonum*, and chiefe good, which in this state and condition is obtain'd! The mind for this has that transcendence given it, that man, though otherwise the weakest, might be the strongest and most excellent of all creatures. In that only is the excellency we have, and thereby are we made superior to the rest. For in the habits of the body, in all the faculties thereof, man is not comparable to others, in sense and motion far inferior to many. The ancients suppose it the indiscretion of Epimetheus, having the first distribution of the qualities, to leave us so defective, when to the rest he gave an excellency in their kinds. As swiftness and agility to some, strength and fortitude to others; and whom he found weakest, these he made most nimble, as in the fowls and others it is seen; and whom he found most slow, to these he gave most strength, as bulls and elephants do expresse it; and so all others in their kinds have some singularity and excellency, wherein there is a compensation for all wants; some being armed offensively and defensive, and in that having a provisional security. But man only he left naked, more unfurnished than the rest: in him there was neither strength nor agility, to preserve him from the danger of his enemies — multitudes exceeding him in either, many in both — to whom he stood obnoxious and exposed, having no resistance, no avoidance for their furies! But in this case and necessity, to relieve him upon this oversight and improvidence of Epimetheus, Prometheus, that wise statesman, whom Pandora could not cozen, having the present apprehension of the danger by his quick judgement and intelligence, secretly passes into heaven, steals out a fire from thence, infuses it into man, by that inflames his mind with a divine spirit and wisdom, and therein gives him a full supply for all! For all the excellency of the creatures he had a far more excellency in this. This one was for them all. No strength nor agility could match it. All motions and abilities came short of this perfection. The most

choice armes of nature, have their superlative in its arts. All the arts of Vulcan and Minerva have their comparative herein. In this divine fire and spirit, this supernatural influence of the mind, all excellence organical is surpast ; it is the transcendant of them all ; nothing can come to match it ; nothing can impeach it ; but man therein is an absolute master of himself ; his own safety and tranquility by God (for so we must remember the Ethicks did expresse it) are made dependant on himself. And in that self-dependance, in the neglect of others, in the entire rule and dominion of himself, the affections being composed, the actions so directed, is the perfection of our government, that *summum bonum* in philosophy, the *bonum publicum* in our policy, the true end and object of this **MONARCHY OF MAN.**"

THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF
STRAFFORD.

1593—1641.

THOMAS WENTWORTH was born on the 13th of April, 1593, in Chancery-lane, at the house of his mother's father, Mr. Robert Atkinson, a bencher of Lincoln's Inn.¹ He was the eldest of twelve children, and the heir of "an estate, which descended to him through a long train of ancestors, who had matched with many heiresses of the best families in the North, worth at that time 6000*l.* a year."² His father, sir William Wentworth, continued to hold a manor which his ancestors had held from the time of the Conquest downwards.³

The youth of Wentworth was passed, and his mind received its earliest and strongest impressions, in the midst of the aristocratic influences. And he was by no means taught to disregard them. He must have considered the various ramifications of the family pedigree with a very early pride and zeal, to have been so well prepared, on his sudden elevation to the peerage, with the formidable list of progenitors that were cited in his patent. It was there set forth, among other grand and notable things, that he was lineally descended from John of Gaunt, and from the ancient barons of Newmark, Oversley, and so forth; and that his ancestors, either by father or mother, had matched with divers houses of honour; as with Maud countess of

Radcliffe's "Essay towards the Life of my Lord Strafford," published as an appendix to "The EARL OF STRAFFORD'S LETTERS AND DISPATCHES," 2 vols. folio, Dublin edit. 1740. vol. ii. p. 429. *Biographia Britannica*, vol. vii. p. 4172.

² Knowler's Dedication to the Letters.

³ An account of the Wentworths will be found in Collins; and see Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis*.

Cambridge, daughter to the lord Clifford of Westmoreland ; with Margaret, daughter and heir to the lord Philip de Spence ; the lords D'Arcy of the North ; Latimer, Talboys, Ogle ; Ferrers earl of Digby ; Quincy earl of Winchester ; Beaumont earl of Leicester ; Grantmesnil baron of Hincley and lord high steward of England ; Peveril earl of Nottingham ; Leofric earl of Mercia ; and Margaret duchess of Somerset, grandmother of Henry VII.¹ It was from the high conventional ground of such proud recollections, that Thomas Wentworth looked forward to the future.

Little account of his early education has been preserved, but he afterwards proved that no accomplishment suited to rank and lofty expectations had been omitted, and it is characteristic of the encouragement given by his father to his aristocratic tendencies, that the college selected for the completion of his studies should have been that which was founded by the illustrious grandmother of Henry VII., whom he claimed as one of his ancestors. He was sent to St. John's college, Cambridge.² Here he soon gave evidence of the powers of a fine intellect, and of that not ungenerous warmth of disposition which is lavish of gratitude and favour in return for personal service. He met with a tutor, Mr. Greenwood, whose useful attentions to him at this time were secured for the future by a prompt appreciation of their value ; he availed himself of them through his after life, and never at any time failed, faithfully, and even affectionately, to remember and reward them.³ I may add, in further proof of this characteristic quality, that we find him shortly after profiting by the active service of a person named Radcliffe⁴, connected with his family by some claims of

¹ Collins' Peerage of England, vol. ii. pp. 30, 21.

² Radcliffe's Essay.

³ I shall have other occasions to allude to this. It may be worth while to add, that Greenwood was himself a man of ancient family, and not likely, on that account, to prove less suitable to Wentworth. See Biong. Brit. vol. vii. p. 4173, note C.

⁴ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 9.

clanship, and that, from this time, Radcliffe never left his side. He had been found useful.

Wentworth left his college while yet very young ; he cannot have been more than eighteen. But he had received benefits from his residence there, and he did not fail to exhibit his recollection of these also, when the power and opportunity arose.¹ Not that it required, in this particular case, the circumstance of service rendered, to elicit Wentworth's return. The memory of his proudly recollected ancestress was abundantly sufficient to have called it forth ; " being," as he himself, shortly after this, writes to one of his country neighbours, " I must confess, in my own nature, a great lover and conserver of hereditary good wills, such as have been amongst our nearest friends."² When a hereditary good will happened to be associated with one of his greatest ancestral glories, it ran little chance of being lessened or lost.

The next circumstance I trace in the scanty memorials of this portion of his history, is his acquisition of the honour of knighthood.³ This title was then to be purchased at a reasonable rate of money ; doubtless Wentworth so purchased it ; and the fact may be taken, along with the evidences I have already named, in

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 125, 180; ii. p. 300. I may allude to this again. On his promotion to the earldom, two years before his death, he acknowledged, in warm phrase, the congratulations of the provost and fellows of his old college :—" After my very hearty commendations, so mindful I am of the ancient favours I received in that society of St. John's, whilst I was a student there, and so sensible of your present civility towards me, as I may not upon this invitation pass by either of them unacknowledged. And therefore do hereby very heartily thank you for renewing to me the sense of the one, and affording me the favour of the other. And in both these regards shall be very apprehensive of any occasions, wherein I may do any good offices either towards that house or yourselves, the provost and fellows thereof."

² Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 25.

³ The writer in the *Biog. Brit.*, and Mr. MacDiarmid, assign a later period to this, but without authority. Radcliffe distinctly, in his *Essay*, names the year 1611 ; and there is extant a letter of sir Peter Frecheville's to Wentworth's father, sir William Wentworth, dated in this year, which commences thus :—" I do unfeignedly congratulate the honourable fortunes of my cousin, your eldest son ;"—in reference, as must be supposed, to the youth's new title. While on this subject I may add, that Mr. MacDiarmid has also fallen into error in attributing certain praises (vol. i. p. 1. of the Strafford Papers) to Thomas Wentworth ;—they distinctly relate to his brother William, then educating for the bar.

further corroboration of the development of the aristocratic principle. Though still extremely young, this remarkable person had been left to all the independence of mature manhood; was treated with deference by his father; and even now, having not yet passed his eighteenth year, aspired to the hand of Frances, eldest daughter of the earl of Cumberland, whom he married before the close of 1611.¹ If it has seemed strange to the reader, that the immediate successor to an ancient patrimony should have sought to feed his love of rank by the purchase of a paltry knighthood, here is the probable reason that influenced him. A title of any sort matched him more fittingly with a lady of title. Immediately after his marriage, in November, 1611, he went into France. Mr. Greenwood, his former tutor, joined him there, and remained with him.²

Strange events at that moment shook the kingdom of France. Henry IV. assassinated, the parliament invaded and beset, Marie de' Medicis regent, Sully disgraced, Concini in favour! These things sunk deep into the mind of Wentworth. "Il put faire dès lors," exclaims the comte de Lally-Tolendal, "de profondes réflexions sur les horreurs du fanatisme, sur les abus du pouvoir, sur le malheur d'un pays dépourvu de ces loix fixés, qui, dans l'impossibilité d'annéantir les passions humaines, les balancent du moins l'une par l'autre, et les forcent par leur propre intérêt à servir, même en dépit d'elles, l'intérêt général."³ Without adopting M. de Lally-Tolendal's exact construction, it is certain that the events I have named, occurring as it were in the immediate presence of Wentworth⁴, were not cal-

¹ Radcliffe's Essay.

² Ibid.

³ This is the only remark with any pretension to originality I have been able to find through the course of a long "Essai sur la Vie de T. Wentworth, Comte de Strafford," which the comte de Lally-Tolendal (penetrated with profound disgust at the patriotic party in England, and with the striking resemblance between Strafford's fate and that of his own unfortunate father) undertook to write for the instruction of his countrymen. He perpetrated a very ridiculous tragedy on the same subject.

⁴ He does not appear to have visited France only, at this period, as has been supposed. He went on to Venice, where he formed a friendship with sir Henry Wotton. We find him afterwards, in his correspondence, co-

cinated to weaken his impressions in favour of strict establishment, and in scorn of popular regards. The image of a Ravillac, indeed, haunted his after life!¹

Meanwhile events, in themselves not so startling and painful as these, but not the less ominous of a stormy future, were occurring in England. In the biography of Eliot I confined myself strictly to an explanation of the circumstances of general history under which he entered his first parliament: I must now retrace my steps.

James I. had many reasons to be weary of his own kingdom, when the death of Elizabeth seated him on the English throne. He came to this country in an ecstasy of infinite relief. Visions of levelling clergy and factious nobles had vanished from his aching sight. In hopeful conceit he turned to his Scotch followers, and remarked, they had at last arrived in the land of promise.

His first interviews with his English counsellors were no less satisfactory. "Do I mak the judges? do I mak the bishops?" he exclaimed, as they pointed out to his delighted attention the powers of his new dominion — "then, Godis wauns! I mak what likes me law and Gospel." There is enough of shrewdness in this remark to express James's character in that respect. He was not an absolute fool, and little more can be said of him. It is a pity he was not, since he was deficient in much wisdom. It is the little redeeming leaven which proves troublesome and mischievous; the very wise or the very foolish do little harm. His "learning," such as it was — though not open to the serious censure which is provoked by his preposterous vanity in the matter of "kingcraft," his disgraceful love of personal ease, and his indecent and shameless fondness for personal favourites — never furnished him with one

trusting to his friend the ambassador, "these cold and sluggish climates," with "the more sublimated air of Italy." — *Papers*, vol. i. p. 5. Wotton continued his ardent friend and admirer.

¹ His letters afford very frequent evidence of this.

useful thought, or a suggestion of practical benefit.¹ He wrote mystical definitions of the prerogative, and polite "Counterblasts to Tobacco;" issued forth damnation to the deniers of witchcraft², and poured out the wraths of the Apocalypse upon popery; but whenever an obvious or judicious truth seemed likely to fall in his way, his pen infallibly waddled off from it. He expounded the Latin of the fathers at Hampton Court³, but avoided the very plain and intelligible Latin of Fortescue.

Not so the great men, his opponents, who were now preparing for a constitutional struggle, of which Europe had as yet given no example. At the close of Elizabeth's reign they had risen to a formidable party, they had wrung concessions even from her splendid despot-

¹ Bacon's opinion has been urged against this, as evidence of genuine praise or of the basest sycophancy. He dedicated his greatest work, the "Advancement of Learning," to James. It is worth while, however, to quote the exact words of this dedication. They are very curious. If they were meant seriously, never was so much flattery ingeniously mixed up with so much truth. They savour much more of irony. "I am well assured," writes Bacon, "that this which I shall say is no amplification at all, but a positive and measured truth; which is, that there hath not been, since Christ's time, any king or temporal monarch, which hath been so learned in all literature and erudition, divine and human. For let a man seriously and diligently revolve and peruse the succession of the emperors of Rome, of which Cesar the dictator, who lived some years before Christ, and Marcus Antoninus, were the best learned; and so descend to the emperors of Græcia, or of the West, and then to the lines of France, Spain, England, Scotland, and the rest; and he shall find his judgment is truly made. For it seemeth much in a king, if by the compendious extractions of other men's wits and labour, he can take hold of any superficial ornaments and shewes of learning, or if he countenance and prefer learning and learned men: but to drink indeed of the true fountain of learning, nay, to have such a fountain of learning in himself, in a king, and in a king born, is almost a miracle." This makes out too formidable an exception to be quite complimentary, and perhaps James's irreverent joke about the book itself was not unconnected with its dedication. "It is like the peace of God," he said, "it passeth all understanding!" It was a fair retort upon the sycophancy of James's more profligate flatteters, when Henry IV. of France admitted that he might be "Solomon — the son of David."

² See the preface to his "Demonologie."

³ An extraordinary account of the indecent conduct of James at this conference is given by Harrington, an eye-witness (*Nugae Antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 181.) and is worth referring to. Barlow, a partial observer of the king and bishops, gives a long account of the discussion in his *Phoenix Britannicus*, p. 146, *et seq.* edit. 1707. See also Winwood's *Memorials*, p. 13. James and his eighteen abject bishops boasted that they had thoroughly beaten their four puritan adversaries; and beat them, it must be confessed, they did, with the rudest and most atrocious insults; certainly not with learning. In the latter respect, Dr. Reynolds, the puritan leader, had the advantage of perhaps any other man in England. See Hallam's *Const. Hist.* vol. i. p. 405.

ism, and won for themselves the courteous title of "mutineers."¹ They soon found that they had little to fear from her successor. He had no personal claims on their respect², no dignity to fence in royalty. They buckled on the armour of their privileges, and awaited his ludicrous attacks without respect and without fear.³

James soon commenced them, and with a hand doubly defenceless. He had impoverished his crown, by conferring its estates on his needy followers; he had deprived it of the sympathy and support of the wealthier barons, in disgusting them with his indiscriminate peerage creations.⁴ From this feeble hand, and a head

¹ Sloane MSS. 4166. Letter of Sir E. Hoby to Sir T. Edmonds, dated Feb. 12, 1605. See also Hallam's Constitutional Hist. vol. i. p. 401. A curious tract in the Sloane MSS. 827, confirms the loss of Elizabeth's popularity, and states its cause, in a short history of the queen's death, and the new king's accession. See, too, the proceedings in the case of Peter Wentworth (a Cornish Wentworth), Parl. Hist. vol. iv. p. 186. *et seq.* The name of Wentworth fills up more than one illustrious era of the English history.

² The news of the progress of his journey from Scotland had travelled before him! "By the time he reached London," says Carte, a friend of the Stuarts, "the admiration of the intelligent world was turned into contempt." The reader will find good reason for this in Harrington's *Nugae Antiquae*, vol. i. p. 180; Wilson, in *Kennet*, vol. ii. p. 667.; Neal, p. 408. quarto edit.; Fuller, part II. p. 22; Hallam, vol. i. pp. 402, 403. Nor is it likely that this contempt should have been diminished by his personal aspect, which Weldon (quoting Balfour) has described, and Saunderson (in his *Aulicus Coquinaria*—an answer to Weldon's book) has not dared to contradict. "He was of a middle stature," says Balfour, "more corpulent throghe his clothes then in his body, set fatt enouch; his clothes ever being made large and easie, the doublets quilted for steletto prooife; his breeches in grate pleats and full stuffed: he was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the gratest reasone of his quilted doublets: his eye large, euer roulling after aney stranger cam in his presence; inasmuch as maney for shame have left the roome, as being out of countenance; his beard was verrey thin; his tounge too large for his mouthe, vich euer made him speake full in the mouthe, and made him drinke verrey uncomelie, as if satting his drinke, vich cam out into the cupe in eache syde of his mouthe; his skin vas as softe as tafta sarsnet: vich felt so because he neuer washis his hands, onlie rubbed his fingers' ends slightly with the vett end of a napkin. His legs wer verrey weake; having had, as was thought, some foule play in his youthe; or rather, befor he was borne; that he was not able to stand at seuin zeires of age; that weaknes made him euer leaning on other men's shoulders."—"His walk," subjoins Wilson, "was ever circular." The satirical Francis Osborne has certainly completed this picture:—"I shall leave him dressed for posterity," says that writer, "in the color I saw him in, the next progress after his inauguration; which was as green as the grass he trod on; with a feather in his cap, and a horn, instead of a sword, by his side. How suitable to his age, calling, or person, I leave others to judge from his pictures."—*Trad. Mem.* c. xvii.

³ An ominous hint of relative advantage may be quoted from the *Journals*, vol. i. p. 156. "That a people may be without a king, a king cannot be without a people."

⁴ See Bolingbroke on the History of England, pp. 237, 238. Harris's Life of James, pp. 69, 71. "A pasquil," says Wilson, "was pasted up at

stuffed with notions of his royal "divinity," he issued the first of his proclamations for the assembling of parliament. It contained a deadly attack on the privileges of the house of commons, in an attempt to regulate the parliamentary elections. This was resented, and defeated, and so the fight began.¹

The popular party proclaimed their intentions at once, with boldness, and in explicit language. They warned the king of his imprudence; they spoke of the dissolute and abandoned character of his court expenses. They did not refuse to assist his wants, but they maintained that every offer of money on their part should be met with corresponding offers of concession on the part of the crown. They brought forward a catalogue of grievances in the practice of the ecclesiastical courts, in the administration of civil justice, and in the conduct of the various departments of the government. For these they demanded redress.² Artifice and intrigue were the first answers they received, and a prorogation the last.

James had now sufficient warning, but, nevertheless, plunged blusteringly forward. With no clear hereditary right to the crown³, he flouted his only safe pretension — the consent and authority of the people. With no personal qualities to command respect, he proclaimed himself a "lieutenant and vicegerent of God," and, as such, adorned and furnished with "sparkles of di-

St. Paul's, wherein was pretended an art to help weak memories to a competent knowledge of the names of the nobility." — p. 7.

¹ See Commons' Journals, p. 147, *et seq.* 166; Carte, vol. iii. p. 730; Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 18; Bolingbroke's Remarks, p. 250. Hume observes that "the facility with which he departed from this pretension is a proof that his meaning was innocent." (vol. v. p. 12.) Fear, his saving characteristic, is the more obvious solution.

² They tried to get the upper house to join them in these complaints, but vainly. Their lordships refused. See Somers Tracts, vol. ii. p. 14; Commons' Journals, pp. 199, 235, 238. For the principal grievances, see Journals, pp. 199, 215, 251, &c.; Hallam's Court Hist. vol. i. pp. 412, 415; and Lingard's History, vol. vi. pp. 23, 27, 88—93 quarto edit.

³ Mr. Hallam has admirably and fully discussed this point, Const. Hist. pp. 392—400. I have no doubt the king was able to feel his want of clear pretensions acutely; but his blundering shrewdness taught him no better mode of concealing it, than by magnifying the inherent rights of primogeniture succession, as something inseparable by the legislature. We find him frequently, with much testiness, reminding the commons — "you all know, I came from the loins of your ancient kings" — a sure proof that he feared they did not know it. See Parl. Hist. vol. v. p. 192.

vinity." In total ignorance of the nature and powers of government, nothing could shake his vain conceit of the awe to be inspired by his regal wisdom. The commons, however, left no point of their claims unasserted or uncertain ; they reserved no "arcana imperii," after the king's fashion. They drew up in committee a "Satisfaction" of their proceedings, for the perusal of James, who makes an evident allusion to it in a letter of the time.¹ It is vain to say, after reading such documents as this, that liberty, a discrimination of the powers and objects of government, was then only struggling to the light, or had achieved no distinct form and pretension. It was already deep in the hearts and in the understandings of men. "What cause," they eloquently said, "we your poor commons have, to watch over their privileges, is evident in itself to all men. The prerogatives of princes may easily, and do daily, grow. The privileges of the subject are, for the most part, at an everlasting stand. They may be, by good providence and care, preserved ; but being once lost, are not recovered but with much disquiet."

Another session succeeded, and the same scenes were again enacted, with the same results. In vain were monopolies cried down, and the merchants lifted their voices unavailingly against the inglorious peace with Spain. After this prorogation, James's obstinacy held out for upwards of two years, when want of money overcame it.

¹ This remarkable paper will be found at length in Petty's *Jus Parlia-*
ment, ch. x. p. 227. ; and is extracted into Mr. Hatsell's first vol. of Pre-
cedents, Appendix, No. 1. Hatsell states, that it was not entered on the
Journals. This is partly a mistake, for at p. 243. the first paragraph will
be found. Rapin alludes to it; and Mr. Hallam has made very spirited
use of it (vol. i. p. 418.), though he seems to labour under misapprehension
in stating that Hume was ignorant of its existence. Hume, on the con-
trary, makes special allusion to it (vol. v. p. 15.) ; quotes a passage from
it ; speaks of it as drawn up "with great force of reasoning, and spirit of
liberty;" attributes it to Bacon and Sandys ; and inclines to think that it
had not been presented to the monarch by the house. The last supposition
is certainly incorrect ; and Mr. Hallam produces a letter which appears to
indicate the feelings with which the king regarded it (vol. i. p. 419.). About
this time, it may be added, mention is made in the Journals, that
fresh seats were required for the extraordinary attendance of members.—
p. 141.

The session of 1610 was a most distinguished one, and called the unjust prerogative to a rigorous reckoning. James had most illegally, in the face of two great charters, and twelve other parliamentary enactments, imposed certain duties on imports and exports. Bates, a Turkey merchant, refused payment of one on currants, and carried his case into the exchequer.¹ The judges there refused him justice, in terms more disgraceful and subversive of liberty, than even the iniquitous decision. Against this, and in no measured terms, the commons now protested. Lawyers, more learned than the judges, exposed, in masterly reasoning, the ignorance and corruption of barons Fleming and Clark. Sir Francis Bacon appealed with all his eloquence to the reverence of past ages, and the possession of the present; but Hakewill proved², in an argument of memorable clearness and vast knowledge, that the only instances adduced were on forbidden articles, and therefore false as precedents; and Bacon appealed in vain. Still more vain was the rage of the monarch, who hastened to the house to lay his arrogant commands upon them. He told them, after a comparison savouring of blasphemy, that it "was seditious in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power."³ They answered in a remonstrance of great strength and spirit, and of much learning.⁴ After producing a host of precedents, they passed a bill against impositions;

¹ A very learned preface to the report of the case of Bates in the State Trials, comprising the entire argument on the question, has been written by Mr. Hargrave. Coke, in his 2d Inst. p. 57., proves the illegality of the decision; though, in his Reports (p. 12.), he had inclined to its favour, on other grounds than those stated by the judges. See also Birch's Negotiations, and an eloquent and very learned note on the subject of impositions, in Mr. Amos's Fortescue, pp. 22—31, 142, 143. I cannot leave the latter work without adding, that various and extensive as is the learning displayed in it, it is for those only to appreciate Mr. Amos's profound acquaintance with constitutional law and history, who, like myself, have to acknowledge, with the deepest gratitude, information personally communicated.

² See his speech, State Trials, vol. ii. p. 407. Mr. Hallam's statement of the discussion is interesting, vol. i. p. 433—438.

³ It is worth referring to this speech as given in King James's Works, pp. 529, 531. The discontent it provoked will be found by referring to Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 175.; Commons' Journals, p. 430.; and Miss Aikin's James, vol. i. p. 350.

⁴ It will be found at length at Somers' Tracts, vol. ii. p. 159.

but, to use Hume's phrase, "the house of lords, as is usual, defended the barriers of the throne," and threw out the bill.¹

I may allude a little further to the proceedings of this distinguished session, since they illustrate forcibly the exact relative positions of the crown and parliament at the period of Wentworth's return.

Unwearied in exertion, the house of commons now fastened on a work that had been published by Dr. Cowell, one of the party of civilians encouraged against the common lawyers, and which contained most monstrous doctrines on the subject of kingly power.² They compelled James to suppress the book. The wily Cecil had striven to effect a compromise with them, by the proposition of a large yearly revenue to the crown, in return for which he promised that the liberality of the sovereign in the matter of grievances should be commensurate. He had entreated, however, without success, that the subsidies should have priority: the commons were resolute in enforcing the condition before yielding the grant. The fate of their impositions' bill had instructed them. Cecil now pressed again for the subsidies; they persisted in the further entertainment of grievances. They complained of the ecclesiastical high commission court, and its disregard of the common law; they protested against the recent system of substituting proclamations for laws; they sought redress for the delays of the courts in granting writs of prohibition and habeas corpus; they questioned the right of the council of Wales to exclude from the privileges of the common law four ancient English counties; they remonstrated

¹ Hume, referring to this measure, observes:—"A spirit of liberty had now taken possession of the house. The leading members, being men of independent genius and large views, began to regulate their opinions more by the future consequences which they foresaw, than by former precedents which were laid before them; and they less aspired at maintaining the ancient constitution, than at establishing a new one, and a freer, and a better." (vol. v. p. 34.) However true this may be in reference to future proceedings, it is certainly incorrect as applied to the present.

² See Roger Coke's Detection, vol. i. p. 50. edit. 1694. These passages have since been suppressed, and it is now considered a useful book. See Hume's admirable note, vol. v. p. 37.

against patents of monopolies, and a late most unjust tax upon victuallers ; but, above all, they strove to exonerate the country from the feudal burthens.¹ They did not dispute that these in right belonged to the crown ; but they negotiated for their abolition ; for they never then insisted on a right, except with proofs and precedents in their hands for claiming it as such. In that particular stage of the contest, the necessity and justice of such caution is apparent, and forms an important feature of their struggles.

The negotiation now commenced. James did not care to abolish purveyance², which was sought for ; but with that was coupled a demand for the exchange of every other kind of tenure into that of free and common socage.³ "What!" said James, "reduce all my subjects, noble and base, rich and poor, to hold their lands in the same ignoble manner?" The indignant "father of his people" would not listen to it ; and, after some delay, a compromise was struck. The tenure by knight service was retained ; but its most lucrative and oppressive incidents, such as relief, premier seisin, and wardship, were surrendered, along with purveyance. Still the commons delayed ; for Cecil's demands were exorbitant. They resolved to pause some short time longer, that they might ascertain the best mode of levying so large a sum with the least distress to the nation. The session had already been protracted far into summer ; a subsidy was granted for immediate wants ; and a prorogation took place.

The loss of the Journals of the ensuing session renders it difficult to follow their proceedings. It is certain, however, from other sources, that the events of the interim had resolved the leaders of the house on abandoning the terms proposed. They saw no signs of greater justice at the outports, or in the proclamations, or in the

¹ See the Parl. Hist. vol. v. pp. 225—245. Also, the Commons' Journals for 1610. Winwood, vol. iii. p. 119.

² An admirable note on purveyance will be found in Amos's *Fortescue*, pp. 134, 135.

³ Parl. Hist. vol. v. p. 229. *et seq.*

ecclesiastical courts. The most important of their petitions on particular grievances had been refused, and now, when they sent one up to the throne for the allowing prisoners on a capital charge to bring witnesses in their own defence, the king protested to them, that in his conscience he could not grant such an indulgence. "It would encourage and multiply forgery," he said: "men were already accustomed to forswear themselves, even in civil actions; what less could be expected when the life of a friend was at stake?"¹ Such was the exquisite philosophy of James. A coolness ensued; threats followed; a prorogation was again the intermediate argument, with a dissolution within nine weeks as the final one. Those nine weeks were employed in vain in the purpose of weakening the popular party; and, on the day threatened, seven years from their first assembling, the dissolution took place.²

The interval which ensued was one of profusion, debauchery, and riot in the court³, and of attempted oppression and wrong against the people. Fortunately, the spirit of liberty had strengthened to resistance. "The privy seals are going forth," says a contemporary writer⁴, "but from a trembling hand, lest that sacred seal should be refused by the desperate hardness of the prejudiced people." It was refused; and the shameful expedient was abundantly resorted to by the court, of selling the honours of the peerage, and of creating a number of hereditary knights, who should pay tribute for their dignity.⁵ All would not serve, however; and

¹ Commons' Journals, p. 451. Lord's Journals, p. 658. Winwood, vol. iii. p. 193.

² A curious letter of the king, illustrative of the angry feelings that prevailed at the dissolution, exists in Marden's State Papers, p. 813. See Hallam, vol. i. p. 451.

³ Observe the account in Fulke lord Brooke's *Five Years of King James*; Mrs. Hutchinson's *Memoirs*; Weldon, p. 165; Coke's *Detection*, vol. i. pp. 42—49. The court presented, at this moment, a disgusting scene of profligacy. It requires a strong stomach even to get through a perusal of the details. Ladies rendered themselves especially notable, not merely for laxity of virtue, but for the grossest drunkenness. See *Nuga Antiqua*, vol. i. p. 348.

⁴ In Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. iii.

⁵ An account of this proceeding will be found in Lingard's *History*, vol. vi. quarto edit. from Sosnow's *Tracts*. See also Hallam, vol. i. p. 461;

Bacon, reckoning somewhat unduly on his own skill¹, prevailed upon the king to summon another parliament.

At this eventful moment Wentworth came back to England, and was immediately returned knight of the shire for Yorkshire.² It is now my duty to follow him through the commencing passages of his public life, and I hope to do this faithfully. I have felt very strongly that the truth lies (as it generally does in such cases) somewhere between the extreme statements that have been urged on either side, by the friends and the foes of Wentworth.

One of his latest biographers³, who brought to his task a very amiable feeling and desire—which wasted itself at last, however, in an excess of sweetness and candour—sets out with a just remark. “The factions which agitated his contemporaries,” Mr. Mac-Diarmid observes, “far from ceasing with the existing generation, divided posterity into his immoderate censurers, or unqualified admirers; and writers, whether hostile or friendly, have confounded his merits and defects with those of the transactions in which he was engaged. Even in the present day, an undisguised exposure of his virtues and vices might be misconstrued by many into a prejudiced panegyric, or an invidious censure of man, as well as of the cause.” Now, from this I shall certainly, in some measure, secure myself by the course I propose to adopt. The collection of documents known by the title of the “Strafford Papers,” seems to me to

Aikin, vol. i. p. 389. The project appears to have been the suggestion of Salisbury. See Baker's Chronicle, p. 416, edit. 1679; Guthrie, vol. iii. p. 704.; and Macaulay's History, vol. i. p. 75.

¹ MS. in the possession of Mr. Hallam, Const. Hist., vol. i. pp. 461, 462.

² The writer in the Biographia Britannica, and Mr. Mac-Diarmid, reject Sir George Radcliffe's dates without the slightest scruple, but without the smallest excuse. They are all of them extremely accurate, and it is quite certain that Wentworth sat in the parliament of 1614. The writers in the Biog. Brit. plead in apology that Radcliffe's own statement—“my memory is (of late especially) very bad and decayed”—quite warrants their freedom with his dates; but they seem to have overlooked the fact, that Radcliffe distinctly restricts the decay of his memory to facts he has *altogether* forgotten. “Seeing my unfaithful memory,” he subsequently says, “hath lost part of the occurrences which concerned my lord, I am loth to let slip that, which yet remains.”

³ Mr. Mac-Diarmid, Lives of British Statesmen, 2 vols.

contain within itself every material necessary to the illustration of the public and private character of this statesman, on an authority which few will be disposed to contest, for the record is his own. The general historical statement I have already given, was necessary to bring Wentworth more intelligibly upon the political scene ; but hereafter I mean to restrict myself, almost entirely, to the authorities, illustrations, and suggestions of character, that are so abundantly furnished by that great work. The letters it contains, extending over a period of more than twenty years, comprise the notices of the country gentleman, the anxieties of the parliament-man, the growing ambition of the president of the North, the unflagging energy of the lord deputy, the intense purpose and reckless daring of the lieutenant-general, and the cares, magnanimously borne, of the ruined and forsaken aspirant, about to render the forfeit of that life, which three kingdoms had pronounced incompatible with their well-being. Their evidence is the more unexceptionable, that they are no hasty ebullitions, the offspring of the moment, a sudden expression of sentiments to be disavowed in succeeding intervals of calm. With a view, as it would seem, to guard against the inconveniences of a naturally fiery and uncontrollable temperament, Strafford wrote with singular deliberation ; and his perspicuous and straightforward despatches¹ deliver the results of a thorough conviction. " He never did any thing of any moment," remarks sir George Radcliffe, " concerning either political or domestical business, without taking advice ; not so much as a letter written by him to any great man, of any business, but he showed it to his confidants if they were near him. The former part of his life, Charles Greenwood and myself were consulted with ; and the latter part, Chr. Wandesford came in Charles Greenwood's room,

¹ It is much to be regretted that Mr. Brodie, whose work contains several valuable suggestions towards the life of Strafford, should suffer himself to depreciate so strongly the merit of his letters and despatches, and his intellectual attainments generally. I shall have ample occasion to refute this.

Charles Greenwood desiring not to be taken away from his cure ; they met almost daily, and debated all businesses and designs, *pro et contra* : by this means his own judgment was very much improved, and all the circumstances and probable consequences of the things consulted were discovered and considered.¹ From the high praise which is given by sir George to this practice, it is to be inferred, moreover, that it was no cheap expedient to obtain an obsequious and all-approving set of counsellors ; for he complacently subjoins, that such a course "is very efficacious to make a wise man, even though he advise with much weaker men than himself : for there is no man of ordinary capacity, that will not often suggest some things which might else have been let slip without being observed ; and in the debatings of things, a man may give another hints and occasions to observe and find out that, which he that speaks to it, perhaps, never thinks on ; as a whetstone," &c. ; concluding with that very original simile. It may also be remarked here, that, of his more important despatches to the king, Wentworth was accustomed to transmit duplicates to the leading members of the council. Thus, in a letter to secretary Cooke, he writes : " Having such confidence in your judgment and good affection both towards his majesty's service and myself, I hold it fit to give you a clear and particular understanding of all my proceedings in these affairs ; to which end I have sent you the duplicates of all my despatches to his majesty and others, as you will find in the paquet this bearer shall bring unto you ; only I desire you will be pleased not to take notice thereof, unless it be brought unto you by some other hand. These businesses have cost me a mighty labour, having been at first written over by my own hand. And I have been as circumspect and considerate therein as possibly I could. And now, I beseech you, help me with your judgment, in any thing you shall find amiss ; and let me clearly and speedily be led into the right path, in case I have erro-

¹ *Essay.*

neously, in any thing, swerved from that which is best and honourablest for our master; for it would grieve me more than any other thing, if my weakness should lead him into the least inconvenience: and this you ever find in me,—that no man living shall more promptly depart from an error than myself, that have, in good faith, no confidence in my own judgment, how direct and intent soever my affections may be." What these letters want, therefore, in those sudden and familiar outbreaks which are to be looked for in a less guarded correspondence, is amply made up in the increased authority of the matter thus carefully elaborated, and cautiously put forth. Nor are instances altogether wanting, in which the curb is set aside, and the whole nature of the writer has its resistless way.

I have remarked on the aristocratic influences which surrounded Wentworth's youth. Every thing had tended to foster that principle within him. His ancient lineage, extending, at no very distant period, to the blood royal — the degree of attention which must have early attached itself to the eldest of twelve children — his inheritance of an estate of 6000*l.* a year, an enormous fortune in those days — his education — all the various circumstances which have been touched upon — contributed to produce a character ill fitted to comprehend or sympathise with "your Prynnes, Pyms, Bens, and the rest of that generation of odd names and natures,"¹ who recognised, in the struggling and oppressed Many, those splendid dawning of authority, which others were disposed to seek only in the One. From the first we observe in Wentworth a deep sense of his exact social position and its advantages. This is explained in a passage of a remarkable letter, written at a later period to his early tutor, Mr. Greenwood, but which I shall extract here, since it has reference to the present time. "My sister Elizabeth writes me a letter concerning my brother Mathew's estate, which I know not how to

¹ *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 344. Such was Wentworth's ill-judged classification. "Ben" may be presumed to have meant sir Benjamin Rudyard.

answer till I see the will ; nor do I know what it is she claims — whether money alone, or his rent-charge forth of my lands, or both. Therefore I desire the copy of the will may be sent me, and her demand, and then she shall have my answer. This brother, that she saith was so dear unto her, had well tutored her, or she him, being the couple of all the children of my father that I conceived loved me least ; it may be they loved one another the better for that too. However it prove, I know not ; but this I am most assured, — that in case any of the three brothers died without issue, *my father ever intended their rent-charge should revert to me, and not lie still as a clog upon my estate ; or that any daughter of his, whom he had otherwise provided for forth of the estate, should thus intercept his intentions towards his heir.* But how often hath he been pleased to excuse unto me the liberal provisions taken forth of my estate for my brothers and sisters ? And as often hath been assured by me, I thought nothing too much that he had done for them ; and yet I can make it confidently appear, that he left not my estate better to me than my grandfather left it to him, by 200*l.* a year ; nay, some that understand it very well have, upon speech had with me about it, been very confident he left it me rather worse than better than he received it. But I shall and can, I praise God, and have heretofore, patiently looked upon their peevishness and fowardness towards me, and all their wise and prudent councils and synods they have held against me, as if they had been to have dealt with some cheater or cozener, not with a brother, who had ever carried himself justly and lovingly towards them ; nor do I, or will I, deny them the duties I owe unto them, as recommended unto my care by my father. Nay, as wise as they did, or do, take themselves to have been, I will say, *it had not been the worse for them, as I think, if they had taken less of their own foolish empty fancies, and followed more of my advice,* who, I must needs say, take myself to have been full as able to have directed their course, as they

themselves could be at that age."¹ Here the remark cannot but occur, of the very early age at which these extraordinary "excuses" from a father to a son must have been proffered and accepted! Sir William Wentworth died in 1614², shortly after his son, who had scarcely accomplished his twenty-first year, was returned to parliament from Yorkshire. This patriarchal authority, then, this strong sense of his hereditary rights of property, was of no late assumption; and in after life it was Wentworth's proud satisfaction that he came not to Ireland "to piece up a broken fortune."³—"For," says he elsewhere, "as I am a Christian, I spend much more than all my entertainments come unto; yet I do not complain; my estate in England may well spare me something to spend." At his so early maturity, being called to the family inheritance by the death of his father, a new charge devolved to him in the guardianship of his elder sister's children, the issue of sir George Savile, which trust he faithfully discharged. His own account of his family regards, generally, given in the passage quoted, appears to me to be perfectly just. His disposition was kind, but exacting. Those of his relations who paid him proper deference, received from him attentions and care. And it is remarkable to observe, in those brothers, for instance, who continued attached to him through all his fortunes— one an intimate counsellor, another a "humble poster in his affairs"—the complete deference they at all times cheerfully paid to him.

Such was the new member for Yorkshire, who took his seat in the parliament of 1614. I have described the condition of affairs. They had arrived at such a point, that not to declare in favour of the popular party, was to exert an influence against them. The liberal strength had not declined in the present assembly. The confederacy of "undertakers"⁴, banded for the purpose

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 484.

² Radcliffe's Essay.

³ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 138, and see vol. i. p. 79.

⁴ For the origin of these "strange ugly kind of beasts," as the king, in his subsequent confession of their existence, oddly called them, see Wilson,

of influencing the elections, had pursued their vile avocations without effect. The new members were staunch ; resumed complaints against monopolies and other unjust grants ; called the bishop of Lincoln to account for disrespectful words ; and received the tribute to their honesty of a dissolution after two months' sitting¹, and of imprisonment, in many cases, afterwards.² During these two months, Wentworth had continued silent ;—not unobserved, but silent. I have examined the Journals, and find no trace of his advocacy of either side in the great struggle.³

At the close of the session he returned to Yorkshire, and a year passed over him at his country residence,

in Kenner, vol. ii. p. 62. For James's present false denial of their having been employed, see Carte, vol. iv. pp. 19, 20; Bacon's Works, vol. i. p. 62; Commons' Journals, p. 462.

¹ "This house of commons," says Hume, "showed rather a stronger spirit of liberty than the foregoing, so little skill had the courtiers for managing elections." (vol. v. p. 49.) It subsequently received from the politer courtiers the title of the "addle" parliament, from the circumstance of its not having been allowed to pass a single bill. Aikin, vol. i. p. 439. See a curious fact mentioned in D'Israeli's *Character of James*, p. 158, and the king's assertion, in his remarkable commission for the dissolution.

² The compilers of the *Parliamentary History* have denied this; but see debate on it in *Journals* of Feb. 5, 12, and 15, 1621; and Hatsell's proof, vol. i. p. 133, 134, edit. 1795. Hume admits the statement, vol. v. p. 50.

³ In some of the less precisely accurate histories,—in Echard's, Oldmixon's, and Mrs. Macaulay's,—Wentworth had been erroneously ranked as one of the "faction" members of this session, who had earned imprisonment after the dissolution by a violent personal attack on the king. Mr. Brodie set the mistake completely at rest, by showing its origin. A Mr. Thomas Wentworth, a very popular member, represented Oxford in all the parliaments of James, and in the two first parliaments of Charles. It was he who spoke violently, and was imprisoned. It was he also who took the active part against Buckingham in the second parliament, which had been ascribed to sir Thomas Wentworth (who did not sit in that parliament at all), even by Rushworth. In expressing great surprise at this mistake on the collector's part, however, Mr. Brodie overlooks the circumstance of its having arisen from a mere error of the press. Had it been otherwise, it would have been difficult (considering that Rushworth attended the house himself, and was necessarily acquainted with the persons of the different members) to have received even Mr. Brodie's authority and that of Wentworth's own letters, against the indefatigable collector. But the context of Rushworth shows the error to have been merely one of the press. He is stating the argument of the *lawyers* of the house on the difference between "common fame" and "rumour;" and observes, "It was declared by sir Tho. Wentworth, Mr. Noy, and other lawyers in the debate," &c.—Now Mr. Wentworth was a lawyer, and an eminent one, the author of a legal treatise of great merit on Executors, and recorder of Oxford; but sir Thomas Wentworth was none of these things. The mistake does not occur again. See Rushworth, vol. i. p. 217. The author of the *History* continued from Mackintosh has fallen into Rushworth's error, vol. v. p. 53.

engaged, to all appearance, in no pursuits less innocent than his favourite sport of hawking. Let the reader judge, however, if his personal ambitions had been forgotten. Sir John Savile, the father of the afterwards lord Savile — and not, as has been invariably stated by modern writers, the lord Savile himself¹ — at this time held an office of great esteem in the county,— that of custos rotulorum, or keeper of the archives, for the West Riding. So strong an influence, however, had for some time been moving against Savile in the county, that the lord chancellor Ellesmere was induced to interfere. It is instructive to observe that sir Thomas Fairfax, a near kinsman of Wentworth's, was the most active against Savile. I quote a passage of a letter from Sheffield, the lord president of the north, to Ellesmere: — “I desired much to have waited upon you myself, to present an information lately made unto me, of the evil carriage of one sir John Savile, a gentleman of Yorkshire, one of the principal in commission, that maketh use of his authority to satisfy his own ends, if sundry complaints be true, which of late have been made unto me, touching one particular, which in my opinion is a matter of foul condition, and which I am bold to intreat your lordship to give me leave to make known unto you by the relation of sir Thomas Fairfax, a gentleman of good worth, to whom the particulars of that matter is well known.” The result was, that in 1615 Savile was removed, and sir Thomas Wentworth appointed to the office. The court had not forgotten the good services of his silence, and Wentworth was not ungrateful. “Calling to mind,” he afterwards writes to Weston, “the faithful service I had the honour to do his majesty, now with God, how graciously he vouchsafed to accept

¹ It is singular that this mistake should have occurred; for occasionally, in the Papers, he is called “the old knight,” “old sir John,” &c. (vol. i. p. 38. &c.); and in his own letter to the lord chancellor Ellesmere, on which the whole of the present business turns, he expressly alludes to “service of forty years under the late queen of gracious memory.” — *Stratford Papers*, vol. i. p. 2. But so incorrectly are circumstances looked at, which do not seem to bear immediately on the matter in hand, yet are to illustrate it afterwards not unimportantly.

and express it openly and sundry times, I enjoy within myself much comfort and contentment. . . . You can best witness the opinion, nay, I might say the esteem, his late majesty held of me."

But a new actor now appears upon the scene, in whose hands James had become a puppet, and to whose shameless influence he had surrendered all his esteems and regards. Having discharged the duties of his new office for nearly two years, Wentworth received (near the close of 1617) a startling notice from no less a person than his grace the duke of Buckingham. Old Savile had been busy with him. "These are to let you understand, that, whereas his majesty is informed that sir John Savile yielded up his place of *custos rotulorum* voluntarily unto you, whom now his majesty hath received into favour again, and purposeth to employ in his service, his majesty will take it well at your hands, that you resign it up again unto him with the same willingness, and will be mindful of you to give you as good preferment upon any other occasion."² Buckingham, however, had committed a mistake here. Wentworth replied to this notice in a letter which has unfortunately been lost, but whose import may be gathered from some passages in Buckingham's reply :—"The reasons set down in your letter are so substantial to prove that sir John Savile made no voluntary resignation of the place to you, but yielded it up rather out of a necessity to avoid that which otherwise would have fallen upon him, that I see it was a misinformation given to his majesty and to me, which occasioned the writing of my letter unto you." Other grounds of apology are added, and Buckingham proceeds :—"Upon these grounds I thought it could neither be any wrong nor disgrace to move you in that business; but I pray you believe, that I am so far from doing the least indignity to any gentleman of your worth, that I would be ready upon any occasion to do you the best service I could. Therefore I desire you not to trouble

¹ Letter, dated 1625, Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 35, 36.

² Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 4.

yourself either with any doubt of further proceeding in this matter, which went so far only upon misunderstanding, or with so long a journey to give me satisfaction, seeing I have fully received it by your letter, and have acquainted his majesty with the true state of the business, as you have set it down." Buckingham subscribes himself his "very assured friend," and then, in a very curious and significant postscript, betrays good reason for his sudden change of style, and sufficiently explains the shrewd and determined course that had been adopted by Wentworth : "I beseech you to excuse me to my lord of Cumberland and my lord Clifford, that I write not to them now, as I purpose to do at more leisure; for now I made haste to signify that which I have to you, that I might spare you so troublesome a journey." So Wentworth continued in his place; and old Savile, eaten up with mortified spleen, waited his first opportunity of retaliation.

Wentworth foiled him at that game too, by striking the first blow ! A new parliament was spoken of, and a strong opposition from the Savile party against Wentworth significantly indicated. He went instantly up to London ; spoke carelessly, it may be supposed, to his friends at court, of his indifference about standing any contest ; and so won from the ministerial party an *intreaty* that he would stand, and endeavour to bring in one of the secretaries of state along with him.¹ Wentworth then consented, returned to Wentworth Woodhouse, and commenced his election exertions. In these his character had full play ; and here, in the first great effort of his public life, were amply vindicated his achievements of a later period. The energy and activity he exhibited, amounted almost to a marvel ! Every difficulty sank before him. Doubts were satisfied, jealousies put to shame, indifference moved to action, enmity even to friendship, dishonesty foiled in its own way, friends stimulated, the opposition of those who

¹ "I was at London much intrusted, and indeed at last enjoined, to stand with Mr. Secretary Calvert." — *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 10.

still continued enemies diverted. I mean to quote these letters at some length hereafter, in immediate illustration of the character of the lord president and lord deputy, to the right understanding of which they appear to me to offer a remarkable assistance. Wentworth of course triumphed, for nothing could withstand his vigour and resources. He went to the poll, after all, on the day of his election, with Calvert, in no vain reliance on friendly professions, but with positive lists, furnished him by the petty officers of the several hundreds, of the names of those voters who had distinctly engaged to support his interests.¹

It may be supposed into what a deadly feud the hatred of the Saviles had now been provoked. From this time we hear little more of the father : the son, sir John Savile the younger, supplies his place. He was a person of mean intellect ; but he had a restless ambition, and was active in intrigue. He had “suck'd in with his milk,” as Clarendon says, a particular malice to Wentworth ; and through his life he had many opportunities of showing how steadily he remembered that “Strafford had shrewdly overborne his father.”²

Disgraceful occurrences had filled up the interval between the last parliament and this parliament of 1621. The exaction of benevolences³ ; the usurpations of the star-chamber ; the deaths of the unfortunate Arabella Stuart, of the promising youth prince Henry⁴, and of

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 13.

² Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. ii. p. 155. folio edit.

³ “The benevolence goes on. A merchant of London, who had been a cheesemonger, but now rich, was sent for by the council, and required to give the king 200*l.*, or to go into the Palatinate and serve the army with cheese, being a man of eighty years of age. He yielded rather than pay, though he might better have given nine subsidies according as he stands valued. This was told to me by one that heard it from his owne mouth. They talk also of privy seals. His majestie at Theobald's, discoursing publicly how he meant to governe, was heard to say he would governe according to the good of the common-weale, but not according to the common will.” Such is an extract from a MS. letter of that day. Hart MSS. 389. It is partly quoted in Ellis's Original Letters, 2d series, vol. iii. p. 241. It is very characteristic.

⁴ For some account of the strange circumstances attending the death of this prince, see Osborne, p. 531.; Burnet, vol. i. p. 10.; Winwood, vol. iii. p. 410.; Harris's Life of James, p. 301, 302. Fox, in his letter to lord Lauderdale, stated his conviction that Henry had been poisoned. The report of the physicians, however, is unanimous on this point, and un-

the accomplished Overbury ; the rapid rise of Villiers ; the pardon, and dark allusions of Somerset¹ ; the disgrace of Coke ; — these are some of the events which had blotted the history of the nation. And these were of home growth. Abroad, mischief had been equally busy ; for the small remnant of foreign policy in the government disappeared with Cecil. The weak and unassisted Frederick, son-in-law of the English king, had been ignominiously driven from his new dominions by Spinola ; Prague had furnished its disasters ; and the protestant interest — the faith, of which, as he had abundantly assured Vorstius, James conceited himself the defender — was trampled down every where.

Proportioned to the disgust and indignation with which these things had been contemplated by the popular party, were the feelings with which they now assembled in this parliament of 1621. The early sittings were distinguished by active and resolute steps in behalf of privilege. It is not necessary to allude to them at any length here. Some great state criminals were subsequently struck down ; and after a few months, the parliament was dissolved by proclamation, and the king committed himself in many acts of foolish violence.²

Wentworth had taken little or no part in these proceedings. He avoided the risk of endangering a certain show of country independence, by active opposition to what was called the country party, and held the most moderate of courses between the court and the people.

favourable to the supposition. See Cornwallis's Memoir, in the 2d vol. of Somers' Tracts ; and the admirable remark of Hume, vol. v. p. 48.

¹ See Osborne, p. 534. ; Weldon, pp. 95, 108, 125. ; and Harris, pp. 82—86. ; for certain remarkable points in the character of James. With respect to the allusions of Somerset, see Weldon, pp. 118. ; the king's letters to Bacon, in the Cabala ; Birch's edition of Bacon, vol. iii. ; and Von Raumer's 63d letter, in his Illustrations of History. Sir Walter Scott has a curious note, in his edition of Somers' Tracts (vol. ii. p. 488.), on this mysterious affair. See also Somers' Tracts, vol. ii. pp. 335, 336. ; and Brodie's History, pp. 15—19. I have no inclination to venture an opinion on so extremely unpleasant a subject ; but if suspicions reasonably prevailed before, the publication of Von Raumer's work on the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is not likely to lessen them. Dr. Lingard has put forward objections, which see in his History, vol. vi. p. 116. quarto edit.

² See Rushworth, vol. i. pp. 52—55.

The service he had already rendered to the former in the matter of Calvert's return, he had been enabled to render palatable to his county by the circumstances of the Savile feud; and it now left him to a convenient kind of neutrality in other respects, which might be felt, in secret quarters, as no less serviceably intended to the court. I find him acting on committees in this parliament, but never putting himself forward as a speaker. Shortly after, he explained his policy in this respect, in a letter to his brother-in-law lord Clifford. Alluding to parliaments, he says, — “ For my opinion of these meetings your lordship knows sufficiently, and the services done there coldly requited on all sides, and, which is worse, many times misconstrued. I judge further, the path we are like to walk in is now more narrow and slippery than formerly, *yet not so difficult but may be passed with circumspection, patience, AND PRINCIPALLY SILENCE.*”¹ The present dissolution Wentworth regretted; but he made silence chiefly serve to assist him in this also. “ As for the disaster,” he writes to lord D'Arcy, “ fallen upon this so hopeful a parliament, albeit I should take pleasure to relate it, yet the enclosed proclamation for dissolution might well save me the labour; much more then, when I cannot think a thought of it but with grief, will it well become me to be silent.”²

He had moved his family up from Wentworth Woodhouse before the session; and they resided, during its continuance, in Austin Friars. Here his body first began to show its extreme frailty. He had “ a great fever,” says sir George Radcliffe; one of those pestilential fevers, it is to be presumed, which so often ravaged the close and crowded streets of London; and which at the same time (1622) struck his wife more fatally. He removed from London, but too late to save the lady Margaret. She died shortly after, leaving no issue, but a memory which he held in respectful regard.

In his intercourse with his court friends at London,

¹ *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 19.

² *Ibid.* p. 15.

Wentworth had zealously interested himself in behalf of two or three of his brothers.¹ The anxiety with which he sought to get them fairly "settled" somehow, was extremely characteristic. The first thing we now find him engaged in at Wentworth Woodhouse after his domestic loss, is the following-out of these exertions for the youths of his family. He writes to sir Edward Conway, one of the king's principal secretaries of state, to remind him of his promises in behalf of "the bearer, my fifth brother, who, intending to try his fortune in the wars, desires more than in any place else to serve as a gentleman of the company under my cousin your son." He apologises for not having seen the secretary before leaving London, on the score of the sudden necessity of his illness. "If you would vouchsafe him," he continues, "so much of your favour, as to recommend him by your letters in such sort, that my cousin may be pleased to afford him his good direction and counsel, and cast his eye upon him as a kinsman (if his carriage may be such as may deserve it), I should judge myself much bound unto you for this, as for other your many noble courtesies bestowed upon me. And this I will be answerable for, — that he shall approve himself, by God's grace, religious, honest, well governed, and daring enough. I conceive, likewise, (if it might stand with your good pleasure) that a letter of recommendation to sir Horace Vere might stand him in good stead, which I humbly submit to your wisdom, and myself to your honourable censure for this my boldness." This is the same thought, the reader will perceive, as that which suggested itself to Eliot when writing to Hampden of his younger son. Sir Edward Conway at once granted the request, and Michael Wentworth was sent off to the wars. Not without a letter from his brother, however, of excellent purpose and advice. Among many sound suggestions for his professional advancement, he observes, — "Methinks it were good to keep a journal-book of all that passeth during your being in the army; as of

¹ See Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 14, 16, 18.

your removes, your skirmishes, your incampings, the order of your marches, of your approaches, of your retreats, of your fortifications, of your batteries, and such like ; in the well and sound disposal whereof, as I conceive, consists the chief skill and judgment of a soldier." The letter concludes admirably : — " Only let me add this one counsel, — that if you come in person to be brought on in any service, I conceive you shall do well to go on with the sober and stayed courage of an understanding man, rather than with the rash and ill-tempered heat of an unadvised youth. In which course too, I conceive, you may sufficiently vindicate yourself from the opinion of fear and baseness, and gain a good esteem among the wiser sort. And, indeed, a man that ventures himself desperately beyond reason (besides that thereby he too much undervalues himself) shall by men of sure and sad brains be deemed, without doubt, unfit for government and command, that exerciseth none of it first over his own unruly and misleading passions." This conduct, so deprecated here by Wentworth, is a description of that very conduct which it is the general custom to ascribe to the earl of Strafford ; but incorrectly, as I trust I shall be able to show.

His health had now strengthened, and with it a flow of good spirits came. Sir George Calvert, the king's secretary of state, was selected for the first advantage of these. " Mr. Tailor telling me," Wentworth writes, " he would see you before the end of this week, I might not omit to present my service unto you in these few lines. Matter worthy your trouble these parts afford none, where our objects and thoughts are limited in looking upon a tulip, hearing a bird sing, a rivulet murmuring, or some such petty, yet innocent pastime, which for my part I begin to feed myself in, having, I praise God, recovered more in a day by an open country air, than in a fortnight's time in that smothering one of London. By my troth I wish you, divested of the importunity of business, here for half a dozen hours, you should taste how free and fresh we breathe,

and how *procul metu fruimur modestis opibus*, — a wanting sometimes to persons of greater eminency in the administration of commonwealths. But seeing this is denied to you in your course, and to me as part of my misfortune, I shall pray you may ever receive as full contentment in those more weighty as we do in these lighter, entertainments."¹

This "innocent pastime," nevertheless, did not withhold him from the parliament, which was now summoned. Its proceedings have been described in the life of Eliot. Wentworth played his usual cautious part, and returned to Wentworth Woodhouse, at its adjournment, a better friend than ever, more playful and more confidential, to his majesty's "principal secretary of state." Calvert himself had gone to his country seat at Thistleton, and is congratulated by his correspondent with many classical similitudes and quotations, on having "retired to the delights of his Tusculanie, *eruptus specioso ejus damno*." An amusing anecdote of James, then hunting with his court at Rufford, concludes the letter. "The loss of a stag, and the hounds hunting foxes instead of a deer, put the king, your master, into a marvellous chaff, accompanied with those ordinary symptoms better known to you courtiers, I conceive, than to us *rural swains*; in the height whereof, comes a clown galloping in, and staring full in his face: *His blood!* (quoth he) *am I come forty miles to see a fellow?* and presently in a great rage turns about his horse, and away he goes faster than he came; the oddness whereof caused his majesty and all the company to burst out into a vehement laughter; and so the fume for that time was happily dispersed."

Seven days after this, the "rural swain" of Woodhouse writes again to his selected confidant. He begins by a laughing mention of having written some politics recently to his "cousin Wandesford, as being a statist," a politician, a meddler in state affairs; "but here with you," he adds, "I have matters of other guess

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 16.

stuff to relate, — that our harvest is all in, a most fine season to make fish-ponds, our plums all gone and past, peaches, quinces, and grapes almost fully ripe, which will, I trow, hold better relish with a Thistleworth palate, and approve me how to have the skill to serve every man in his right cue. These only we countrymen muse of, hoping in such harmless retirements for a just defence from the higher powers, and, possessing ourselves in contentment, pray with Dryope in the poet, —

** Et si qua est pietas, ab acuto vulnere falcis
Et pecoris morsu, frondes defendite nostras.*

—Thus, you see, Ovid serves us at every turn. How bold we are with you since you entred our list ; and how we take time, while time serves ! For, Michaelmas once come, and your secretary's cloak on your shoulders, I trust, you shall find us better manner'd than to interrupt your serious hours with our toys." On the arrival of Michaelmas, however, the parliament was again adjourned, for the purpose, as it afterwards appeared, of a final dissolution. Our rural swain, in consequence, despatches with an airy sauciness to his state friend, in a tone between jest and earnest, some slight shades of significant advice, dashed with a sort of reminder that the writer — though given to looking at tulips, and hearing birds sing, and rivulets murmuring, and keeping sheep from biting his hedges, and such like innocent pastime — might yet be called upon, as an effect of want of employment, to play the part of an "unruly fellow in parliament." The words of this letter are eminently happy and well chosen. "Now," says Wentworth, "that you have given us a put-off till February, we are at good ease and leisure to pry (the true effects of want of employment) saucily out of our own calling into the mysteries of state ; to cast about for a reason of this sudden change. In a word, we conclude, that the French treaty must first be consummate before such unruly fellows meet in parliament,

lest they might appear as agile against this, as that other Spanish match. For my part I like it well, and conceive the bargain wholsom on our side, that we save three other subsidies and fifteenths. Less could not have been demanded for the dissolving of this treaty, and still the king your master have pretended to suffer loss (no doubt for our satisfaction only), which certainly we should have believed, and reputed ourselves great gainers, and that rightly too. *For is it a small matter, trow you, for poor swains to unwind so dexterously your courtly true-love knots ? You think we see nothing ; but believe it, you shall find us legislators, no fools ; albeit, you of the court (for by this time I am sure you have, by a fair retreat from Thistleworth, quit your part of a country life for this year) think to blear our eyes with your sweet balls, and leave us in the suds, when you have done. Thus much for the common-weal.* For your own self, I am right glad for your ague recovered ; hoping it will cleanse away all bad-disposed humours, and give entrance consequently unto a settled continuing health, wherein no man alive shall be more pleased. In the alacrity of which faith, and out of an earnest desire to be made an eye-witness thereof, you shall have (God willing) within these few weeks to attend you, your honour's ever most humbly, most readily to be command, THOMAS WENTWORTH."

It is just possible that these hints might have been taken at last by the court party, but that Wentworth's proposed journey was retarded by a sudden return of illness. In the spring, Ratcliffe observes, "as I take it, he had a double tertian ; and after his recovery, a relapse into a single tertian ; and, a while after, a burning fever." On his recovery from these afflicting disorders, he came instantly up to London. Charles now sat upon the English throne, and Buckingham's influence reigned over the royal councils more absolutely than even in James's time. This, it is probable (for he had had good reason to suspect a personal dislike on Buckingham's part), induced Wentworth to venture more openly

among the popular party, and by that means convey to the king, inaccessible through his minister, the importance of his talents and services. I shall show very soon how extremely anxious he was to exhibit himself, as it were, personally to the king. We find him now, accordingly, in frequent communication with Denzil Hollis, and others of the popular men. He had, from the first, provided a convenient organ of communication with them, in the person of his kinsman Wandesford, who subsequently proved so accommodating a patriot. Soon after this (one of the results of his visits to the house of Hollis's father, the earl of Clare), he married the lady Arabella Hollis, "younger daughter of the earl, a lady exceeding comely and beautiful, and yet much more lovely in the endowments of her mind."¹

Wentworth now began to be talked of as an accession to the liberal party, and the court grew somewhat alarmed. On the meeting of parliament, his election for Yorkshire came into dispute, and, as I have shown in the memoir of Eliot, the ministerial men supported his claims. No doubt this arose from a desire, by some little sacrifice in a matter of no essential concern, to nip slightly the budding patriot. Eliot's opposition threw him out. What has been already suggested on this subject², is corroborated by some occasional allusions in the Strafford papers. Wentworth's friend, sir Richard Beaumont, for instance, writes in answer his earnest request:—"My occasions are, and have been such, as with no convenience I can come up to London; for which I am very sorry, that I shall not enjoy your good company this summer, and give what assistance I could to make good our York election, which I hold as clear as the noon sun, for if it be tolerated that men shall come six, seven, nay, ten apprentices out of a house, this is more like a rebellion than an election. The gentry are wronged, the freeholders are wronged."³ Sir Richard Beaumont goes on to allude to

¹ Radcliffe's Essay.

² Strafford Papers, vol. I. p. 27.

³ Memoir of Eliot, pp. 31, 32.

the borough of Pontefract, observes that he is much beholden for the honour of having been elected there, but hints a private reason which will prevent his accepting, and suggests the name of another friend to be returned on a new writ. “I should have been willing to have kept your place for you, or for any friend of yours, and served in it, and yielded it up of an hour’s warning to have done you service ; but as it is,” &c. It would appear from this, that Wentworth had already, against the chance of defeat, secured a seat to fall back upon, in the borough of Pontefract.¹

When the parliament commenced proceedings, Wentworth partly showed gratitude to the court, and partly redeemed his new alliance. He spoke with extreme moderation, and advised a grant of subsidies, while at the same time he intimated opposition to Buckingham. The adjournment to Oxford then took place ; but, on their re-assembling, while Eliot and others were dooming the minister to impeachment, *Wentworth continued silent*. The cause of this will very soon appear.

He returned to Yorkshire. Necessity, in a few months, called together another parliament. He set to work instantly to prepare for his election ; but, in the midst of his arrangements, to the infinite surprise of himself no less than of his friends, an announcement reached him that his name was among those of the men disabled from serving, by Buckingham’s notable scheme of pricking them sheriffs of their respective counties. Wentworth was now sheriff of Yorkshire. Sir Arthur Ingram, a cautious friend, writing to him at this moment, gave him one consolation : — “*It was told me by two counsellors, that in the naming of you, the king said, you were an honest gentleman, but not a tittle to any of the rest. This much advantage have you that way.*” He had previously said that every exertion to prevent the step had been used, but added, “ I think, if all the council that was at court had joined together in request for you, it would not have prevailed : for it was set and resolved

¹ See Letter to the Mayor of Pontefract, vol. I. p. 25.

what should be done before the great duke's going over, and from that the king would not change a tittle."¹ Buckingham had gone by this time into Holland; and it would thus appear that Charles, though inclined favourably to Wentworth, did not dare to contravene the order of his minion.

Be that as it might, here was a great occasion. It was soon announced to Wentworth that the pricked men were resolved to make a struggle, to defeat the unusual tyranny that had sought to disable them from parliament. "I met with sir Francis Seymour here, at Reading," writes the cautious Ingram; "I find by him that he is very desirous to be of the house, notwithstanding he is chosen sheriff; he hath taken, as he telleth me, very good advice in it; and he hath been resolved, that he may be returned, and serve for any town or city that is out of his own county. He would gladly that you would favour him so much as to get him chosen for some place in the north, and he will, if it stand with your good liking, have you chosen in the west. This he did desire me to write to you of, and that you would send him or me an answer so soon as you can. This, his desire, I have by these few lines made known unto you, leaving it to your own wisdom to do therein what you shall think good. *For my own poor opinion, it is a thing that no doubt will displease the king exceeding much, and, therefore, to be well considered of. On the other side, I think the house would be exceeding glad of it, and would hold you in, in spite of any.* That which induceth sir Francis the rather in this is, that he knoweth that sir Edward Coke, and sir Robert Philips will be both returned. But, good sir, out of the love I bear to you, I dare not give you any encouragement in it."² Wentworth's conduct upon this was decisive of the character I am endeavouring to represent. With the ready and resolved purpose of a man who is already decided on the *main* course to be pursued, yet is not unwilling that it should receive cor-

¹ *Stratford Papers*, vol i. p. 29.

² *Ibid.* p. 30.

roboration or modification from his friends, he instantly consulted several of them. Observe how characteristically this is conveyed, in a letter from his father-in-law, lord Clare : “ *You resolve, in my opinion of this particular, rightly ;* for we live under a prerogative government, where book-law submits unto *lex loquens* ; then be these extraordinaries, that rely rather upon inference or interpretation than the letter, too weak staves for such subjects to lean upon. This is a novelty and a stranger, that a sheriff, who, according to the received rule of our forefathers, is tied to his county as a snail to his shell, may cause himself to be chosen a burgess, or servant for a borough, and so in a sort quit the greater and the king’s service for a subject’s and a less : *therefore, as a novelty, it is rather to be followed than to begin it,* and as a stranger to be admitted as a probationer, and to be embraced upon further acquaintance. For my part, I shall be glad if sir Edward Coke and sir Robert Philips can make their undertaking good ; and I could wish sir Francis Seymour were a burgess, *so you were not seen in it : and if any of them, without your knowledge and consent, shall confer any such place upon you, you are no way in fault thereby ;* and yet Cæsar’s wife must be free from suspicion ; so as I may conclude, it is not good to stand within the distance of absolute power. But I see the issue : the question will fall between the king and the parliament ; the house will demand her member, and the king denies his officer, and the king’s election was prior, so as in conclusion some drops of displeasure may fall upon the borough, *whose charter is always in the king’s reach.* But this is my chimera, and the lion may be less terrible than the picture. Howsoever this well succeeding would put the courtier out of his trick, secure the parliament better, and the subject in general, and make great ones more cautious in wrestling with that high court. *Yet as you write, son, this business is of such a nature, as it is much better to be a spectator than an actor, and in this I give you no opinion ; I only confirm yours.*”¹ His resolution now

¹ *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 31.

perfectly assured, Wentworth writes in playful confidence to his kinsman, Wandesford, whose services he relied on to keep him as well as possible with the popular members. He begins by a pleasant piece of humour : “*Returna brevium* is the office of a sheriff indeed,—but in this, that in this high calling (and now sworn too,) I answer your long letter, is more than in justice, scarcely in favour, you could expect from me; and little less than incivility in you thus to abuse a simple gentleman in his place, and put me beyond the length of my tether, it being my part this year, *laconicum agere*, as becomes best, to say truth, a man of affairs,—attendant upon justices, escheators, juries, bankrupts, thieves, and such kind of cattle. Well then, still to pursue, as a good officer should do, the duties of my vocation, I will tell you, my purpose is to carry myself in such a temper, that for my expense it shall participate of moderation and sobriety, without the least tincture of wantonness or petulance, which will both better express the sense wherewith I take it from above, and be more suiting with that just regard I owe the gentry of this country, to whom I have been so much beholden ; of whom I should be too much forgetful, and of my own modesty too, if I did any ways intend (at least as far as my indiscretion could go,) to bring the former licentious custom in again so much to their prejudice. Therefore, in a word, come king, come judge, I will keep myself within the articles made when sir Guy Palmes was sheriff ; and run dog, run cat, drink a red ryal by the place at least, by God’s leave.” He goes through many topics very amusingly, and then observes, “*You will partly see by the enclosed, how the pulse beats above,*”—which I take to be an allusion to letter (he afterwards desires it to be enclosed back to the him,) of his friend Ingram, in which the king’s feeling had been so favourably expressed. “*For my own part,*” he continues, “*I will commit others to their active heat, myself, according to the season of the year, fold myself up in a cold silent forbearance, apply myself cheer-*

fully to the duties of my place, and heartily pray to God to bless sir Francis Seymour. For, my rule, which I will not transgress, is, ‘Never to contend with the prerogative out of a parliament; nor yet to contest with a king but when I am constrained thereunto.’”¹

Wentworth faithfully adhered to these intentions; and while “the great, warm, and ruffling parliament” in London was infusing, by the boldness of its acts and words, new spirit and strength into the country, he remained quiet in Yorkshire, discharging his duty, as his humourous classification had described it, among “justices, escheators, juries, bankrupts, thieves, and such like cattle.” It is true he had found time to attend in London for certain purposes that are speedily to be explained, but he did not meddle with parliament matters there, returning to Yorkshire again as quiet as before, and, indeed, a little more contented.²

Soon afterwards, before the proceedings of the parliament had closed, and while attending a county meeting in his office of high sheriff, a paper was handed to Wentworth. It was the king’s warrant dismissing him from the office he had so ardently desired to hold of *custos rotulorum*! Giving way to momentary astonishment and indignation, he publicly told the meeting in what manner he had just been discharged, and that his successor was to be old sir John Savile. “Yet I could wish,” he added, “they who succeed me, had forborne this time this service, a place in sooth ill chosen, a stage ill prepared, for venting such poor, vain, insulting humour. I leave it,” he concluded, “not conscious of any fault in myself, nor yet guilty of the virtue in my successor, that should occasion this removal.”³

This was admirable for a public display. As soon as he had arrived at Wentworth Wood House, however, he despatched the following letters, one almost immediately after the other, to “the right honourable sir Richard Weston, knt., chancellor of his majesty’s exchequer!” They fully explain, it will be seen, the

Stratford Papers, vol. i. pp. 32–54. ² Ibid. p. 35. ³ Ibid. p. 36.

whole course of Wentworth's recent conduct. "I have been beholden unto you," he begins, "for many courtesies, which in your own particular I will undoubtedly ever thankfully acknowledge. Give me leave then to put you in remembrance of some things wherewith you formerly have been acquainted ; as also to give you an account of some things which have happened since. *At the dissolved parliament in Oxford, you are privy how I was moved from and in behalf of the duke of Buckingham, with promise of his good esteem and favour ; you are privy that my answer was, I did honour the duke's person, that I would be ready to serve him in the quality of an honest man and a gentleman ; you are privy, that the duke took this in good part, sent me thanks ; as for respects done him, you are privy, how during that sitting I performed what I had professed. The consequence of all this was the making me sheriff the winter after. It is true, the duke, a little before Whitsuntide last, at Whitehall, in your presence, said, it was done without his grace's knowledge, that he was then in Holland. At Whitehall, Easter term last, you brought me to the duke, his grace did before you contract (as he pleased to term it) a friendship with me, all former mistakes laid asleep, forgotten. After, I went, at my coming out of town, to receive his commands, to kiss his grace's hands, where I had all the good words and good usage which could be expected, which bred in me a great deal of content, a full security. Now the consequence here again is, that even yesterday I received his majesty's writ for the discharging me of the poor place of *custos rotulorum* which I held here, whose good pleasure shall be cheerfully obeyed ; yet I cannot but observe as ill luck of it, that the reward of my long, painful, and loyal service to his majesty in that place, is to be thus cast off without any fault laid to my charge that I hear of, and that his grace too was now in England. I have therefore troubled you with this unartificial relation to show you the singleness of my heart, resting in all assurance justly confident, you shall never find that I have for my own part in a*

tittle transgressed from what had passed betwixt us. All which I confess, indeed, to this bare intent and purpose and no other, that I might preserve myself in your opinion a man of plainness and truth. Which obtained I have fully my end, and so I rest in the constant condition of your truly affectionate friend to dispose of, THOMAS WENTWORTH." The courteous conclusions of Wentworth's letters have a significancy at times. The next letter to Weston, following up the purpose of the last, runs thus : "*Calling to mind the faithful service I had the honour to do his majesty now with God, how graciously he touchsafed to accept and express it openly and sundry times, I enjoy within myself much comfort and contentment.* On the other side, albeit therein still strongly dwell entire intentions (and by God's goodness shall, with me to my grave) towards his sacred majesty that now is, yet I may well apprehend the weight of his indignation, being put out of all commissions, wherein formerly I had served and been trusted. This makes me sensible of my misfortune, though not conscious of any inward guilt, which might occasion it ; resting infinitely ambitious, not of new employment, but *much rather to live under the smile than the frown of my sovereign.* In this strait, therefore, give me leave to recommend to you the protection of my innocence ; and to beseech you, at some good opportunity, to represent unto his majesty my tender and unfeigned grief for his disfavour, my fears also that I stand before his justice and goodness clad in the malevolent interpretations, and prejudiced by the subtle insinuations, of my adversaries ; and lastly, my only and humble suit, that his majesty will princely deign, that either my insufficiency or fault may be shown me ; to this only end, that if insufficieney, I may know where and how to improve myself, and be better enabled to present hereafter more ripe and pleasing fruits of my labours in his service ; if a fault, that I may either confess my error and beg his pardon, or else, which I am most confident I shall do, approve myself throughout an honest well-affected

loyal subject, with full plain and upright satisfaction to all that can, by the greatest malice or disguised untruth, be objected against me. The contentment of others in my actions is but subordinate, and consequently neither my principal study nor care. Thus have I presumed upon you, further than any particular interest of mine can warrant, out of a general belief in your wisdom and nobleness, *the rather too because I conceive you can best witness the opinion, nay I might say the esteem, his late majesty held of me.* All which, nevertheless, as in good manners and discretion I ought, I submit wholly to your best pleasure, *without importunately pressing further herein than may stand with your conveniency,* your other respects, and, however, retain with me the lasting truth of your honour's most humbly, most readily to be commanded, THOMAS WENTWORTH.¹

It did not suit with Weston's convenience to answer these letters at the time, but it is probable that no word of them was withheld from the king. Buckingham was still too powerful to be in any thing gainsayed, and it was clear that he had formed a violent dislike to Wentworth. He sought now to mortify him as much as possible through the means of Savile. The son of the "old knight," or the "old cavalier," as one of Wentworth's correspondents² calls him, was promoted to a barony and an office in the household. It is not difficult, on mature consideration, to assign an intelligible reason for these proceedings by Buckingham, though at first they appear startlingly gratuitous. He had, in truth, an equal motive to be jealous of Wentworth, in the way of favour, as in that of opposition. While it is possible that he did not very clearly understand the

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 34, 35.

² Lord Mansfield, who appears to have remonstrated with the duke of Buckingham himself, while Wentworth thus remonstrated, as it were, with the king, respecting the late proceedings. "I writ my mind," says Mansfield to Wentworth, "at full to my lord duke; and, I protest to God, no more sparing the old cavalier or his nature than I would speak of him to you, nor mincing my desires or my nature, which is not to do curtesies for injuries." It is most probable that this was done at Wentworth's desire. See Papers, vol. i. p. 43.

policy that had been shown by Wentworth in either case, it is more than probable that he feared to be undone by him in both. In favour, he might already have received occasion to suppose Wentworth likely to prove a formidable rival, (not dreaming that a large capacity could never so impose upon Charles as a mean one); and in opposition, he may still have thought him too likely to be dangerous, for a perfect trust. Nor was he without reason for suspicion, at least, on the latter score. Wandesford, the most intimate friend and kinsman of the quiet sheriff, had been one of the most active managers of the impeachment in the last session. And there were other causes of dread. Wentworth had had some communication with the intriguing archbishop Williams, and worse than all, was known to have frequently visited the person whom the duke more deeply feared, the archbishop Abbot. I quote from Abbot's narrative "concerning his disgrace at court," a passage elucidatory on this point. In describing the three of his acquaintances to whom exception had been taken by Buckingham, ("I know from the court, by a friend," he interposes, "that my house for a good space of time hath been watched, and I marvel that they have not rather named sixty than three,") the archbishop observes, "the third was sir Thomas Wentworth, who had good occasion to send unto me, and sometimes to see me, because we were joint executors to sir George Savile¹, who married his sister, and was my pupil at Oxford; to whose son also sir Thomas Wentworth and I were guardians, as may appear in the court of wards, and many things passed between us in that behalf; yet, to my remembrance, I saw not this gentleman but once in these three quarters of a year last past; at which time he came to seek his brother-in-law, the lord Clifford, who was then with me at dinner at Lambeth.²

The second parliament dissolved, privy seals were now issuing. Savile, still hot against his old opponent,

¹ Sir George, it may be remarked, was not a "Yorkshire Savile."
² Rushworth, vol. i. p. 451. Written about the year 1628-9.

prevailed with the court to send Wentworth a privy seal. The latter received it while his recent overtures to Weston remained yet unaccepted. It had the appearance of a cold rejection of them.¹ Still he hesitated as to his course. "I have been here now some two or three months," writes lord Baltimore to him, "a spectator upon this great scene of state, where I have no part to play; but you have; for which your friends are sorry. It is your enemies that bring you on the stage, where they have a hope to see you act your own notable harm; and therefore keep yourself off, I beseech you, *et redimas te quam queas minimo.*"² A letter from lord Haughton followed. "It was supposed," he informs Wentworth, "this humour of committing had been spent, till that your antagonist did revive it; who, I hear, brags he hath you in a toil or dilemma; if you refuse, you shall run the fortune of the other delinquents; if you come in at the last hour into the vineyard, he hopes it will lessen you in the country."³ Such was indeed the dilemma, the toil, in which Wentworth found himself;—but he hesitated still! His friends now became extremely anxious, and letter upon letter was dispatched to him. Their general cry was one of dissuasion, but in all events of immediate decision.⁴ Lord Clifford wrote several times in anxious solicitude. "Your friends here do think, you take the best course in writing to the commissioners and coming up instantly, if you are not yet resolved to lend: but that being the point we all wish you would grant us; for, without that, we can have no hope of your safety for your health or person. Then, the deferring of the answer will so lessen the gift, as the acceptance of it would be but faint and cold. Whereas, if you would now assent to slip the money into some commissioner's hand, you might wave the trouble to appear, either in the country or here. I

¹ In the Life of Eliot, I have sufficiently explained the court practices at this time. Privy seals were generally addressed to the "disaffected" only.

² Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 37.

⁴ See the Papers, vol. i. pp. 37—40

³ Ibid.

must tell you, that I have met here with many that are persuaded that you struck a tally here yourself when you were at London, and my answer to such was ignorance. Another sort there are, who inquire much after your coming up, and these I conceive not out of any good affection, because some of them have relation to old sir John." Lord Baltimore wrote more earnestly still. " If you resolve betimes to take this course, which I would to God you would, it may be yet interpreted obedience to your sovereign, and zeal to his service; and whatsoever slackness hath been in it hitherto may be excused by your friends here, either by indisposition of health, or some other reason, which your own judgment can better dictate unto you than my advice. I should say much more to you were you here, which is not fit for paper; but never put off the matter to your appearance here, for God's sake: but send your money in to the collectors in the country without more ado. Your friends are much perplexed and in fear of you, and none more than I." Wentworth, thus driven, made up his mind, at last, to refuse to lend. He could no longer conceal from himself that a crisis had arrived, and he was not ignorant of a means (though he might have hitherto wished to avoid some incidents attached to it,) that would possibly force from it a perfect triumph. He refused the loan, and was summoned to the council table at London. He did not omit an opportunity to his main purpose that seemed to offer itself here. Wandesford describes it in a letter written to him after his committal to the Marshalsea. " Now that you are reckoned with the afflicted, a man may pray safely for your deliverance; and, seeing it would be no better, I am glad you come in so fair, and so handsomely upon the point itself. Sir Arthur tells me, the president reports well of your carriage at the table. I shall be glad to hear of you in your present confinement, lest that prison and this season give you a night-cap in earnest."

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 39

He only remained six weeks in the Marshalsea. He was then removed to Dartford in Kent, where, Radcliffe observes, he "was not to go above two miles from that town." This was an easy imprisonment, and, easy as it was, was still more alleviated by the presence of the lady Arabella. She had already presented him with a boy, and, during his present restriction, gave birth to a girl. The letters of her brother, Denzil Hollis, written at this period to Wentworth, are very delightful in many respects¹, and, in the disastrous news of the court schemes which they supplied, may have served to strengthen his present patriotic purposes. "I am most glad," he writes, "to hear my sister is in so fair a way of recovering strength, since she last made you the second time a father: I wish she may many times do it to both your comforts, and every time still with more comfort than the former; that yet in our private respects we may have some cause of joy, since the public affords us so little; for you see how that goes on *de mal en pis*, as the French say." He then gives a vivid account of the melancholy Isle of Rhée expedition, and describing the numbers that had been lost, pleasantly concludes thus:—"In the mean time we have lost many good men, yet let us make the best of it, and, I hope, it will make our wives, instead of bearing wenches, which of late you say they have been much given to, fall to bringing of boys, young soldiers for the reincrew of our army: and I know no reason but mine should begin; and she had as good do it at first, for if she do not, at her peril, I hope to make her go again for it; and when my sister Arabella shall see how mine is served, I hope she will take fair warning, and do as she should do; but I fear not her so much, for she has begun pretty well already. And now I will close my letter as you do yours (with thanks by the way for it, as also for the whole letter), heartily praying she may so continue, to make you a glad father of many goodly and godly boys,—and some wenches

¹ See Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 60—42.

among, lest the seventh work miracles, as old wives will tell us,—and herself to be a joyful and good mother, as I know she is a good and loving wife, and long may she so be to your comfort and her own."

Wentworth and the other recusants released, they met, under the circumstances of extreme excitement which have been already described, in the famous third parliament. It is scarcely necessary to remark here, that the under current of intrigue which had been set in motion by Wentworth, was only known to his convenient friend Wandesford. It is not likely, from the tone of Hollis's letters, that he had ever been made acquainted with it. For the rest of the patriots, with the exception of the keen-sighted Eliot, they all held well with Wentworth, as a great and valuable supporter of the popular cause. He had long been known for his talents ; their outburst in behalf of liberal principles had long, by a certain section of the leaders, been anxiously watched for ; and now, disappointing none, even of those who had known them longest, and looked for them most impatiently, they burst forth amidst the delighted cheers of the house, and with a startling effect upon the court.

On the discussion of the general question of grievances, Wentworth rose. " May this day's resolution," he solemnly began, " be as happy, as I conceive the proposition which now moves me to rise, to be seasonable and necessary ! For whether we shall look upon the king or his people, it did never more behove this great physician, the parliament, to effect a true consent amongst the parties than now. This debate carries with it a double aspect ; towards the sovereign, and towards the subject ; though both be innocent, yet both are injured ; both to be cured. In the representation of injuries I shall crave your attention ; in the cure, I shall beseech your equal cares, and better judgments. In the greatest humility I speak it, these illegal ways are punishments and marks of indignation. The raising of money by loans ; strengthened by commission, with unheard-of instructions ; the billeting of soldiers by the

Lieutenants ;—have been as if they could have persuaded Christian princes, nay worlds, that the right of empire was to take away goods by strong hand ; and they have endeavoured, as far as was possible for them, to do it. This hath not been done by the king (under the pleasing shade of whose crown, I hope we shall ever gather the fruits of justice), but by projectors ; these have extended the prerogative of the king beyond its just limits, so as to mar the sweet harmony of the whole."

Wentworth then burst suddenly, and with great dramatic effect, (he studied this at all times) into the following rapid and passionate invective. " They have rent from us the light of our eyes ! enforced companies of guests worse than the ordinances of France ! vitiated our wives and daughters before our faces ! brought the crown to greater want than ever it was, by anticipating the revenue ; — and can the shepherd be thus smitten, and the flock not be scattered ? They have introduced a privy council, ravishing, at once, the spheres of all ancient government ! imprisoning us without bail or bond ! They have taken from us — what shall I say ? *Indeed what have they left us ?* They have taken from us all means of supplying the king, and ingratiating ourselves with him, by tearing up the roots of all property ; which, if they be not seasonably set again into the ground by his majesty's hand, we shall have, instead of beauty, baldness ! "

For this, in the noblest language, the orator proposed his remedy. " By one and the same thing hath the king and people been hurt, and by the same must they be cured :—to vindicate—what ? New things ? No ! our ancient, lawful, and vital liberties ! by reinforcing of the ancient laws made by our ancestors ; by setting such a stamp upon them, as no licentious spirit shall dare hereafter to enter upon them. And shall we think this a way to break a parliament ? No ; our desires are modest and just. I speak truly, both for the interest of the king and people. If we enjoy not these, it will be impossible to relieve him : therefore let us never fear

but they will be accepted by his goodness. Wherefore I shall descend to my motion, which consists of four parts: two of which have relation to the persons, and two to the property of our goods. 1st. For our persons, the freedom of them from imprisonment, and from employments abroad, against our own consents, contrary to the ancient customs of this kingdom. 2d. For our goods, that no levies may be made, but by parliament; and no billeting of soldiers. It is most necessary that these be resolved, and that the subjects may be secured in both. Then, for the manner, it will be fit to determine it by a grand committee."¹

Wentworth sustained, through the short but important proceedings of the session, the reputation he had achieved by this speech in the house and the country. He spoke on all the great questions and emergencies that occurred. Only two of his speeches, however, remain in any completeness. The second was delivered on one of secretary Cooke's pressing applications for the subsidies. "I cannot help lamenting," he said, "the unlawful courses and slights, for which the only excuse is necessity. We are required to give; but before we can resolve to give, it must be determined what we have to give. What heavy fogs have of late darkened our hemisphere, and yet hang over us, portending our ruin, none is so weak as to be ignorant of! What unsteady courses to dispel these mists, have been pursued, and thereby raised near us great storms, I take no pleasure to remember,—yet, in all bodies diseased, the knowledge precedes the cure. I will shortly tell the principals; next their remedies. I must reduce them into two heads: 1. whereby our persons have been injured; 2. whereby our estates have suffered."

"Our persons have been injured," continued Wentworth more earnestly, "both by imprisonment without law—nay, against law, boundless and without bank!—and by being designed to some office, charge, and em-

¹ From a MS. in the Harleian Library. See *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii. pp. 369
—371.

nployment, foreign or domestic, as a brand of infamy and mark of disgrace. Oh ! Mr. Speaker, when it may not be safe to deny payments upon unjust exactions, but we must go to prison for it,— nor in this place, to speak our consciences, but we must be stamped to unwilling and unfitting employments ! Our estates have been racked two ways ; one in the loan, wherein five subsidies were exacted ; and that by commission of men of quality, and instructions to prosecute the same, with an asperity which no times can parallel ! And hence the other consideration, of the projectors and executioners of it. Nay, this was not all, but ministers, in their pulpits, have preached it as gospel, and damned the refusers of it — so then we are already doomed to damnation !

" Let no man," he said, in conclusion, after proposing a committee for grievances, " judge this way a break-neck of parliaments : but a way of honour to the king, nay of profit ; for besides the supply which we shall readily give him, suitable to his occasions, we give him our hearts. *Our hearts, Mr. Speaker, a gift that God calls for, and fit for a king !*"¹

There may have been more passion than logic in these speeches, but they had their effect. The court now saw more thoroughly the man they had discarded, and Weston hastened to answer his last letter ! He reasoned here not unjustly — that it could scarcely be too late at any time to answer a letter, which in its terms so clearly proved the non-existence of any *lasting* obstacle, such as a firm point of principle. The present conduct of Wentworth, to Weston at least, could appear no other than a temporary resource. Even Buckingham's continued objections were therefore set aside, and, before the conclusion of the session, a negotiation with Wentworth had opened ; — nay, almost before the burning words which have just been transcribed, had cooled from off the lips of the speaker, a transfer of his services to the court was decided on ! We have indisputable evidence, that, on the 28th of

¹ Pari. Hist., vol. vii. p. 440.

May, Finch was acting as a go-between.¹ On the 26th of June the parliament was prorogued. On the 14th of July sir Thomas Wentworth was created Baron Wentworth, and called to the privy council. It is clear, however, that *at the same time* he had stipulated to be made a viscount, and lord president of the North², but this apparently could not be done, till the death of Buckingham had removed a still lingering obstacle.³

I have thus endeavoured to trace at greater length, and with greater exactness than has been attempted hitherto, the opening passages in the political history of this extraordinary man. The common and vulgar account given by Heylin⁴ has been, it is believed, exploded, along with that of the no less vulgar Hacket.⁵ All Wentworth's movements in the path which has been followed, appear to me to be perfectly natural and intelligible, if his true character is kept in view. From the very intensity of the aristocratic principle within him, arose his hesitation in espousing at once the interests of the court. This, justly and carefully considered, will be found the solution of his reluctant advances, and still more reluctant retreats. The intervention of a favourite was hardly supportable by one whose ambition, as he felt obliged to confess to himself even then, would be satisfied with nothing short of the dignity of becoming "the king's mistress, to be cherished and courted by

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 45.

² See Papers, vol. ii. p. 390.

³ A passage in Rushworth (vol. viii. p. 765.) is corroborative of the view which I have presented of Wentworth's public conduct. The collector professes to give all those parliamentary speeches "in which my lord of Strafford so discovered his wit and temper, that the court took particular notice of him," and gives only the speeches that were delivered in this third parliament. It is clear that he had not rendered himself at all formidable before. Rushworth, indeed, subsequently sets this at rest, by adding,—"Now he began to be more generally taken notice of by all men, and his fame to spread abroad, where public affairs, and the criticisms of the times, were discoursed by the most refined judgments; those who were infected with popularity flattering themselves that he was inclined to support their inclination, and would prove a champion on that account; but such discourse, as it endeared him to his country, so it begot to him an interest in the bosom of his prince, who (having a discerning judgment of men) quickly made his observation of Wentworth's, that he was a person framed for great affairs, and fit to be near his royal person and councils."

* Life of Laud, p. 194.

⁵ Scrinia Reservata.

none but himself." He was to be understood, and then invited,— rather than forced to an explicit declaration, and then only accepted. The purpose of the alternating attraction and repulsion of his proceedings, such as I have described them, submissive and refractory, might have been obvious, indeed, to an obtuser perception than Buckingham's, but that mediocrity will always find its little account in crushing rather than winning over genius, and is rendered almost as uncomfortable by an uncongenial coadjutor as by a strenuous opponent. Wentworth's conduct, at the last, was forced upon him by circumstances : — but his energetic support of the Petition of Rights was only the completion of a series of hints, all of which had been more or less intelligible ; and, even now, unwillingly understood as *this* was by the minister, it was yet more reluctantly acted upon, for by Buckingham's death alone, as we are informed, the "great bar" to Wentworth's advancement was removed.¹ It may be added, that, even in all these circumstances, when many steps were forced upon him, which his proud spirit but poorly submitted to, and wronged itself in submitting to, it is yet possible to perceive a quality in his nature which was afterwards more fully developed. He was possessed with a rooted aversion, from the first, to the court flies that buzzed around the monarch, and as little inclined to suffer their good offices as to deprecate their hostility. The receipt, shortly after this, of divers ill-spelt and solemn sillinesses from the king, seems to have occasioned a deep and enduring gratitude in him, for the dispensing with a medium that had annoyed him. "I do with infinite sense," writes he, "consider your majesty's great goodness, not only most graciously approving of that address of mine immediately to yourself, but allowing it unto me hereafter, which I shall rest myself upon as my greatest support on earth, and make bold to practise, yet I trust without importunity or sauciness."

¹ Biog. Britt., vol. vii. p. 4179.

The few attempts to ingratiate himself with the queen, which were ultimately forced on Wentworth by his declining fortunes, were attended with but faint success, and he appears to have impressed her, on the whole, with little beyond the prettiness of his hands, which she allowed to be “the finest in the world” — to the prejudice of his head, which she was not so inclined to preserve.

In one word, what it is desired to impress upon the reader, before the delineation of Wentworth in his after years, is this — *that he was consistent to himself throughout*. I have always considered that much good wrath is thrown away upon what is usually called “*apostacy*.” In the majority of cases, if the circumstances are thoroughly examined, it will be found that there has been “no such thing.” The position on which the acute Roman thought fit to base his whole theory of *Aesthetics* —

“ Humano capiti cervicem pector equinam
Jungere si velit, et varias inducere plumas,
Undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atram
Desinat in piscent mulier formosa supernè,
Spectatum admissal risum teneatis, amici ?” &c.

— is of far wider application than to the exigencies of an art of poetry ; and those who carry their researches into the moral nature of mankind, cannot do better than impress upon their minds, at the outset, that in the regions they explore, they are to expect no monsters — no essentially discordant termination to any “mulier formosa supernè.” Infinitely and distinctly various as appear the shifting hues of our common nature when subjected to the prism of CIRCUMSTANCE, each ray into which it is broken is no less in itself a primitive colour, susceptible, indeed, of vast modification, but incapable of further division. Indolence, however, in its delight for broad classifications, finds its account in overlooking this ; and among the results, none is more conspicuous

¹ This is told us by madame de Motteville, who repeats what Henrietta had said to her : — “ Il était laid, mais assez agréable de sa personne ; et la reine, me contant toutes ces choses, s’arreta pour me dire qu’il avait les plus belles mains du monde.”

than the long list of apostates with which history furnishes us. It is very true, it may be admitted, that when we are informed by an old chronicler that, "at this time, Ezzelin changed totally his disposition,"—or by a modern biographer that, "at such a period, Tiberius first became a wicked prince,"—we examine too curiously if we consider such information as in reality regarding other than the act done, and the popular inference recorded; beyond which it was no part of the writer to inquire. But such historians as these value themselves materially on their dispensation of good or evil fame; and as the "complete change," so dramatically recounted, has commonly no mean influence on the nature of their award, the observations I have made may be of service to the just estimate of their more sweeping conclusions.

Against all such conclusions I earnestly protest in the case of the remarkable personage whose ill-fated career we are now retracing. Let him be judged sternly, but in no unphilosophic spirit. In turning from the bright band of patriot brothers to the solitary Strafford — "a star which dwelt apart" — we have to contemplate no extinguished splendour, razed and blotted from the book of life. Lustrous, indeed, as was the gathering of the lights in the political heaven of this great time, even that radiant cluster might have exulted in the accession of the "comet beautiful and fierce," which tarried a while within its limits ere it "dashed athwart with train of flame." But it was governed by other laws than were owned by its golden associates, and — impelled by a contrary, yet no less irresistible force, than that which restrained them within their eternal orbits — it left them, never to "float into that azure heaven again."

Before attending Wentworth to his presidency in the North, we may stop to consider one of those grand features in his character, on which many subordinate considerations depend, and a proper understanding of which

ought to be brought, as a first requisite, to the just observation of his measures.

I cannot believe Wentworth to have been the vain man popular opinion has pronounced him, nor discover in him any of that overweening and unwarranted self-confidence, which friends no less than foes have laid to his charge. An arrogance, based on the supposed possession of pre-eminent qualities which have no existence, is one thing; and the calm perception of an undoubted superiority, is another. Wentworth, indeed, "stood like a tower"—but that unshaken confidence did not "suddenly scale the light." Its stately proportions were slowly evolved; its eventual elevation unavoidable, and amply vindicated. We have met with no evidences of a refractory or self-sufficient disposition in the youth of Wentworth? His studies at Cambridge had a prosperous issue, and he ever remembered his college life with affection. "I am sorry to speak it, but truth will out," writes he to Laud concerning an episcopal delinquent, "this Bishop is a St. John's man—of Oxford, I mean, not Cambridge; our Cambridge panniers never brought such a fairing to the market."¹

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 189. Laud makes merry upon this happy phrase of the lord deputy's. The passages are characteristic of the correspondence, and therefore worth quoting. "And so your Lordship," he writes, "is very sorry to tell the truth, but only that it will out. A St. John's man you say he is, and of Oxford—your Cambridge panniers never brought such a fairing to the market. Yes, my good lord, but it hath; for what say you of dean Palmer? Who, besides his other virtues, sold all the lead off from the church at Peterburgh; yet he was brought in your Cambridge panniers; and so was bishop Howland too, who used that bishoprick, as well as he did the deanary. I must confess this man's baseness hath not many fellows, but his bribery may have store. And I pray, is that ever a whit the less fault, because it is gentleman-like for hundreds and thousands? Whereas this man deals for twenty shillings and less. I hope you will not say so, and if you do not, then I pray examine your Cambridge panniers again, for some say such may be found there, but I for my part will not believe it, unless your lordship make me." Wentworth appears to have contested this point in Laud's own humour. The bishop retorts by asking him what his "Joanism," means. "Now you are merry again. God hold it. And what? Dr. Palmer acted like a king? Be it so. But he was another card in the pack. As for bishop Howland, you never heard of him. What? Nor of Jeames his wife neither? Good Lord, how ignorant you can be when you list. Yes but you have taken St. John's Ox. *Flagrante criminis*, and I put you to your memory. Is it so? Come on then: you know there is a cause in the Star-Chamber; some were to answer, and they brought their answers ready written. If the bishop of Lincoln sent them ready for his turn, hath he not an excellent

His deep esteem for his tutor, Greenwood, reflects honour on both parties. I have said that it was originated by good services performed, and so, perhaps, it is necessary to limit all Strafford's likings — all, except the fatal one which cost him life, his liking for the weak and unworthy king, which had its origin in that abstract veneration for power, which (or rather, as he afterwards too late discovered, the semblance of which) we have just seen him by some practices beneath his nature, climbing up to, and in the exercise of which, we are to view him hereafter. But his esteem for Greenwood, whatever its origin, was not to have been provoked by truckling sycophancy. Nothing of that sort would have succeeded in impressing its object with so profound a respect as dictates the following paragraph in an interesting letter to his nephew and ward, sir W. Savile. " In these, and all things else, you shall do passing well to consult Mr. Greenwood, who hath seen much, is very well able to judge, and certainly most faithful to you. If you use him not most respectively, you deal extreme ungrateful with him, and ill for yourself. He was the man your father loved and trusted above all men, and did as faithfully discharge the trust reposed in him, as ever in my time I knew any man do for his dead friend, taking excessive pains in settling your estate with all possible cheerfulness, without charge to you at all. His advice will be always upright, and you may safely pour your secrets into him, which, by that time you have conversed a little more abroad in the world, you will find to be the greatest and noblest treasure this world can make any man owner of ; and I protest to God, were I in your place, I would think him the greatest and best riches I did or could possess.¹" In the same letter, Wentworth assures this youth — "you cannot consider yourself, and advise and debate your

forge ? What if this appear ? I hope you will not then say I put you to your memory. 'Tis now under examination, and is not this if, &c. *fa. grante criminis ? Go brag now.*"

¹ Papers, vol. i. p. 170.

actions with your friends too much ; and, till such time as experience hath ripened your judgment, it shall be great wisdom and advantage to distrust yourself, and to fortify your youth by the counsel of your more aged friends, before you undertake any thing of consequence. It was the course that I governed myself by after my father's death, with great advantage to myself and affairs ; and yet my breeding abroad had shown me more of the world than yours hath done, and I had natural reason like other men ; only I confess I did in all things distrust myself, wherein you shall do, as I said, extremely well, if you do so too.¹" There is no self-sufficiency here !

Wentworth's method of study has been transmitted to us by sir George Radcliffe, and I quote it in strong corroboration of the view which has been urged. "He writ," Radcliffe assures us, "as well as he spoke : this perfection he attained, first, by reading well penned authors in French, English, and Latin, and observing their expressions ; secondly, by hearing of eloquent men, which he did diligently in their sermons and publick speeches ; thirdly, by a very great care and industry, which he used when he was young, in penning his epistles and missives of what subject soever ; but above all, he had a natural quickness of wit and fancy, with great clearness of judgement, and much practice, without which his other helps, of reading and hearing, would not have brought him to that great perfection to which he attained. I learned one rule of him, which I think worthy to be remembered : *when he met with a well penned oration or tract upon any subject or question, he framed a speech upon the same argument, inventing and disposing what seemed fit to be said upon that subject, before he read the book ; then reading the book, compare his own with the author, and note his own defects, and the author's art and fulness ; whereby he observed all that was in the author more strictly, and might better judge of his own wants to supply*

¹ Papers, vol. i. p. 160.

them."¹ Now this early habit of confronting, so to speak, the full grown wits of other men—of satisfying himself of his own precise intellectual height by thoroughly scanning the acknowledged stature of the world's giants—is as much removed from a rash assumption as from the nervous apprehension of mediocrity.

Wentworth's temper was passionate ; and it is curious and instructive, in the present view of his character, to mark the steps he took in relation to this. I have already spoken of his extreme cautiousness ; of the select council that canvassed his business, suggested his measures, and revised his correspondence ; of his deference to advice, and indeed, submission to reproof, from his assured friends. "He was naturally exceeding choleric," says sir George Radcliffe, "an infirmity with which he had great wrestlings ; and though he kept a watchfulness over himself concerning it, yet it could not be so prevented, but sometimes upon sudden occasions it would break. He had sundry friends that often admonished him of it ; and he had the great prudence to take in good part such admonitions : nay, I can say that I, one of his most intimate friends, never gained more upon his trust and affection, than by this freedom with him, in telling him of his weaknesses. For he was a man and not an angel, yet such a man as made a conscience of his ways, and did endeavour to grow in virtue and victory over himself, and made good progress accordingly." This "*good progress*" brought him eventually to a very efficient self-control. In cases where he would seem to have exceeded it, and to have been transported beyond decency and prudence, it would be hasty to assume, as Clarendon and other writers have done, that it was in mere satisfaction of his will. These writers, it will not be difficult to show, have not that excuse for the failure of their principles in Wentworth's person. The truth was that, as in the case of Napoleon and other great masters of the despotic art, anger was one of the instruments of his

¹ *Papers*, vol. II. p. 435.

policy. He came to know when to be in a passion and flew into a passion accordingly. " You gave me a good lesson to be patient," he writes to old secretary Cooke, " and indeed my years and natural inclinations give me heat more than enough, which however, I trust, more experience shall cool, and a watch over myself in time altogether overcome ; in the mean space, in this at least it will set forth itself more pardonable, because my earnestness shall ever be for the honour, justice, and profit of my master ; and it is not always anger, but the misapplying of it, that is the vice so blameable, and of disadvantage to those that let themselves loose thereunto.¹"

In the same despatch to the secretary from which I have taken the above, he had observed, immediately before, — " Nor is it one of my least comforts that I shall have the means to resort to so wise and well affected a friend to me as I esteem yourself, and to a servant that goes the same way to my master's ends that I do ; and therefore let me adjure you, by all the interests that I may or would have in you, that as you will (I am sure) assist me when I am right, so by your sensible and grave counsel, reduce me when I may happen to tread awry."² And thus, from the first, is Wentworth found soliciting the direction of others in all important conjunctures ; not, indeed, with the vague distress of one unprovided with expedients of his own, and disposed to adopt the first course that shall be proposed, but with the calm purpose of one decided on the main course to be pursued, yet not unwilling that it receive the corroboration, or undergo the modification, of an experienced adviser. This has been occasionally illustrated in the business of his nomination by the king for the office of sheriff, where, having already chosen his party, he submits his determination to his father-in-law, the earl of Clare, whose answer has been transcribed. I have mentioned also his practice of trans-

¹ *Stratford Papers*, vol. i. p. 57.

² *Ibid.*

mitting duplicates of his despatches on all urgent occasions to Laud, Cooke, and Cottingham.

No passage, indeed, in the career of Wentworth proves him to have been a vain man. His singular skill is never satisfied, without an unremitting application of means to any desired end, and the neglect of no circumstance, the most minute and apparently trivial, that may conduce to its success. Would he ensure his own return for a county, and smuggle in a ministerial candidate under the wing of his own popularity? — He proceeds as though his personal merits could in no way influence the event, and all his hopes are founded on the activity of his friends, which he leaves no stone unturned to increase. *In one and the same day*, sir Thomas Gower, high sheriff of York, is informed that — “ Being, at the entreaty of some of my best friends, resolved to try the affections of my countrymen in the next election of knights for the shire, I could do no less than take hold of this fit occasion to write unto you these few lines. Wherein I must first give you thanks for the good respect you have been pleased to show towards me, to some of my good friends who moved you for your just and equal favour at the time of the election; which, as I will be found ready to deserve and affectionately to requite, so must I here solicit you for the continuance of your good purposes towards me; and lastly desire to understand from you, what day the county falls out upon (which is to be the next after the receipt of the writ), that so I may provide myself and friends to give our first voices for Mr. Secretary, and the second for myself.” — Sir Henry Bellasis assured that — “ Presently upon my return from London, I find by Mr. Carre, how much I am beholden unto you for your good affection. In truth I do not desire it out of any ambition, but rather to satisfy some of my best friends, and such as have most power over me. Yet, if the country make choice of me, surely I will zealously perform the best service for them that my means or understanding shall enable me unto. And having thus

far upon this occasion declared myself, must take it as a great testimony of affection in them that shall afford me their voices, and those of their friends for Mr. secretary Calvert in the prime, and myself in the second place. Particularly am I hereby to give you therefore thanks, and will so settledly lodge this favour in my heart, that I will not fail to remember and deserve it. *In my next letters I will likewise let Mr. Secretary know your good respect and kindness towards him, whereof I dare assure you he will not be unmindful.* The election day will fall out very unhappily upon Christmas-day; but it is irremediless, and therefore must be yielden unto. If you will please to honour me with the company of yourself and friends upon that day at dinner, I shall take it as a second and especial favour: in retribution whereof you shall find me still conversant, as occasion shall be ministered, in the unfeigned and constant offices of your very assured and affectionate friend." — Sir Henry Savile instructed that — "I have received your two letters, and in them both find matter to thank you for your respect and kindness towards me. The later of them I received just the afternoon I came out of town, *but I write effectually to Mr. Secretary for a burgess-ship for you at Richmond, in regard I knew my lord of Cumberland was partly engaged: but I will amongst them work out one, or I will miss far of my aim.* So soon as I hear from Mr. Secretary, I will give you further certainty herein; in the mean time, methinks it were not amiss if you tried your ancient power with them of Aldborow, which I leave to your better consideration, and in the mean time not labour the less to make it sure for you elsewhere, if these clowns chance to fail you. The writ, as I hear, is this week gone to the sheriff; so the next county day, which must without hope of alteration be that of the election, falls to be Christmas-day, which were to be wished otherwise; but the discommodity of our friends more upon that day than another makes the favour the greater, our obligation the more, and

therefore I hope they will the rather dispense with it. If the old knight should but endanger it, 'faith, we might be reputed men of small power and esteem in the country ! but the truth is, I fear him not. If your health serve you, I shall wish your company at York, and that yourself and friends would eat a Christmas pie with me there : I tell you there would be a hearty welcome, and I would take it as an especial favour, so value it, and as such an one remember it." — Sir Matthew Boynton reminded that — " The ancient and near acquaintance that hath been betwixt us causeth me to rank you in the number of my friends ; and being moved by my friends to stand second with Mr. secretary Calvert for knight of the shire at this next parliament, I assure myself I might confidently address myself unto you for the voices of yourself and friends in the election, which falls out unfortunately to be upon Christmas-day. But as the trouble of my friends thereby will be the greater, so doth it add to my obligation. I hope likewise to enjoy your company and friends that day at dinner. You shall be in no place better welcome." — And Christopher Wandesford given notice that — " the writ will be delivered by Mr. Radcliffe within these two days to the sheriff, to whom I have written, giving him thanks for his kindness, desiring the continuance thereof. And now, lest you should think me forgetful of that which concerns yourself, I hasten to let you know that I have got an absolute promise of my lord Clifford, *that if I be chosen knight, you shall have a burgess-ship (reserved for me) at Appleby, wherewith I must confess I am not a little pleased, in regard we shall sit there, judge, and laugh together.*"

The reader will remember that all these, with many other letters, are written and despatched on the same day. No apology is necessary for the length at which I quote them ; since, in rescuing them from false and distorted arrangement, much misconception is prevented

and a very valuable means of judgment furnished on Wentworth's general conduct.

He goes on to let sir Thomas Fairfax know, that — “ I was at London much intreated, and, indeed, at last enjoined, to stand with Mr. Secretary Calvert for to be knight of this shire the next parliament, both by my lord Clifford and himself ; which, after I had assented unto, and despatched my letters, I perceived that some of your friends had motioned the like to Mr. Secretary on your behalf, and were therein engaged, which was the cause I writ no sooner unto you. Yet, hearing by my cousin Middleton that, he moving you in my behalf for your voices, you were not only pleased to give over that intendment, but freely to promise us your best assistance, — I must confess I cannot forbear any longer to write unto you how much this courtesy deserves of me ; and that I cannot choose but take it most kindly from you, as suitable with the ancient affection which you have always borne me and my house. And presuming of the continuance of your good respect towards me, I must entreat the company of yourself and friends with me at dinner on Christmas-day, being the day of the election, where I shall be most glad of you, and there give you further thanks for your kind respects.” — And thus reports progress to Mr. Secretary himself : — “ May it please you, sir, the parliament writ is delivered to the sheriff, and he by his faithful promise deeply engaged for you. I find the gentlemen of these parts generally ready to do you service. Sir Thomas Fairfax stirs not ; but sir John Savile, by his instruments exceeding busy, intimating to the common sort under hand, that yourself, being not resiant in the county, cannot by law be chosen, and, being his majesty's secretary and a stranger, one not safe to be trusted by the country ; — but all this according to his manner so closely and cunningly as if he had no part therein ; neither doth he as yet further declare himself than only that he will be at York the day of the election ; — and thus finding he cannot work them from me, labours only to

supplant you. I endeavour to meet with him as well as I may, and omit nothing that my poor understanding tells me may do you service. My lord president hath writ to his freeholders on your behalf, and seeing he will be in town on the election day, it were I think very good he would be pleased to show himself for you in the Castle-yard, and that you writ unto him a few lines, taking notice you hear of some opposition, and therefore desire his presence might secure you of fair carriage in the choice. *I have heard, that when sir Francis Darcy opposed sir Thomas Lake in a matter of like nature, the lords of the council writ to sir Francis to desist. I know my lord chancellor is very sensible of you in this business; a word to him, and such a letter, would make an end of all.* Sir, pardon me, I beseech you, for I protest I am in travail till all be sure for you, which imboldens me to propound these things, which notwithstanding I most humbly submit to your judgment. When you have resolved, be pleased to dispatch the bearer back again with your answer, which I shall take care of. There is not any that labours more heartily for you than my lord Darcy. Sir, I wish a better occasion wherein to testify the dutiful and affectionate respects your favours and nobleness may justly require from me."—Sir Arthur Ingram is then apprised, in a letter which is full of character, that, "as touching the election, we now grow to some heat; sir John Savile's instruments closely and cunningly suggesting under hand Mr. Secretary's non-residence, his being the king's servant, and out of these reasons by law cannot, and in good discretion ought not, be chosen of the country; whereas himself is their martyr, having suffered for them; the patron of the clothiers; of all others the fittest to be relied on; and that he intends to be at York the day of the election,—craftily avoiding to declare himself absolutely. And thus he works, having spread this jealousy, that albeit I persuade myself generally they would give me their prime voice, yet in good faith I think it very improbable we shall ever get the first place for

Mr. Secretary; nay, I protest we shall have need of our strength to obtain him a second election: so as the likeliest way, so far as I am able to judge, to secure both, will be for me to stand for the prime, and so cast all my second voices upon him, which, notwithstanding, we may help by putting him first in the indenture. I am exceeding sorry, that the foulness and length of the way put me out of hope of your company; and therefore I pray you, let us have your advice herein by the bearer. Your letter to your friends in Halifax admits some question, because you desire their voices for Mr. Secretary and myself the rather for that sir John Savile stands not; so, say they, if he stand, we are left to our liberty. You will therefore please to clear that doubt by another letter, which, delivered to this messenger, I will get sent unto them. I fear greatly they will give their second voice with sir John. Mr. Leech promised me he would procure his lord's letter to the freeholders within Hallomshire and the honor of Pontefract; that my cousin Lascells, my lord's principal agent in these parts, should himself labour Hallomshire; Mr. Banister, the learned steward of Pontefract, do the like there; and both of them be present at the election, the better to secure those parts. I hear not any thing of them. I pray you, press Mr. Leech to the performance of his promise; letting him know sir John Savile's friends labour for him, and he declares in a manner he will stand; and get him to send the letters by this my servant. I desire likewise he would intreat my cousin Lascells, that he would take the pains to come over, and speak with me the Monday before Christmas-day here at my house. Sir, you see how bold I am to trouble you, and yet I must desire you would be pleased to afford me the commodity of your house for two nights, to entertain my friends. I shall, God willing, be most careful that nothing be impaired, and shall number this amongst many other your noble courtesies, which have inviolably knit me unto you."—Sir Thomas Dawney is solicited to the same effect, and sir Henry

Slingsby informed that — “the certainty I have of sir John Savile’s standing, and the various reports I hear of the country people’s affection towards Mr. Secretary, makes me desirous to know how you find them inclined in your parts. For this wapentake, as also that of Osgodcross and Staincross, I certainly persuade myself, will go wholly for us. In Skyrack I assure myself of a better part, and I will perform promise with Mr. Secretary, bringing a thousand voices of my own besides my friends. Some persuade me, that the better way to secure both, were for me to stand prime, cast all my second voices on Mr. Secretary, and put him first into the indenture. I pray you consider of it, and write me your opinion; *I would not lose substance for such a toyish ceremony.* There is danger both ways: for if Mr. Secretary stand first, it is much to be feared, the country will not stand for him firm and intire against sir John. *If I be first chosen, which I make no question but I could, then it is to be doubted, the people might fly over to the other side, which, notwithstanding, in my conceit, of the two is the more unlikely: for, after they be once settled and engaged for me, they will not be so apt to stir.* And again, it may be so suddenly carried, as they shall have no time to move. At a word, we shall need all our endeavours to make Mr. Secretary, and therefore, sir, I pray you gather up all you possibly can. I would gladly know how many you think we may expect from you. My lord Clifford will be at Tadcaster upon Christmas-eve, about one of the clock: if that be your way, I am sure he would be glad yourself and friends would meet him there; *that so we might go into York the next day, vote, and dine together,* where you shall be most heartily welcome.” — Sir Thomas Fairfax is again moved very earnestly to make — “all the strength of friends and number you can to give their voices for us at the next election, falling to be upon Christmas-day; the rather, because *the old gallant of Hooley* intends certainly to stand, whom indeed, albeit I should lightly weigh, were the matter

betwixt him and me, yet I doubt Mr. Secretary (if his friends stand not closely to him) being not well known in the country. Sir, you have therefore hereby an opportunity offered to do us all an especial favour, which shall bind us to a ready and chearful requital, when you shall have occasion to use any of us. My lord Clifford will be, God willing, at Tadcaster upon Christmas-eve about one of the clock, where I assure myself he will much desire that yourself and friends will be pleased to meet him, *that so we may go into York together*; and myself earnestly intreat the company of yourself and them the next day at dinner, which I shall esteem as a double favour."—And his cousin Thomas Wentworth advertised that, "being, as you know, engaged to stand with Mr. Secretary Calvert to be knights for this parliament, and sir John Savile our only opponent, I must make use of my friends and intreat them to deal thoroughly for us, in regard the loss of it would much prejudice our estimations above. In which number I esteem yourself, one of my best and fastest friends. The course my lord Darcy and I hold is, *to intreat the high constables to desire the petty constables to set down the names of all freeholders within their townships, and which of them have promised to be at York and bestow their voices with us, so as we may keep the note as a testimony of their good affections, and know whom we are beholden unto*, desiring them further to go along with us to York on Sunday, being Christmas-eve, or else meet us about two of the clock at Tadcaster. I desire you would please to deal effectually with your high constables, and hold the same course, that so we may be able to judge what number we may expect out of your wapentake. As I no ways doubt of your uttermost endeavours and pains in a matter of this nature, deeply touching my credit, so will I value it as a special testimony of your love towards me. I hope you will take the pains to go along with us, together with your friends, to York, *that so we may come all in together*, and take part of an ill dinner with me the next day;

where yourself and friends shall be right heartily welcome."¹

It is not necessary to recall attention to the political principle, or the party views, which are evidenced in these letters²; but how singular and complete is the illustration they afford, of Wentworth's practice of letting slip no method, however ordinary, of compassing his designs! Is he interested, either, in the success of a lawsuit? — we find that — “he spent eight years' time, besides his pains and money, in soliciting the business and suits of his nephews sir George and sir William Savile, going every term to London about that only, without missing one term in thirty, as I verily believe. And all this merely in memory of the kindness which had passed betwixt him and his brother-in-law sir George Savile, then deceased.”³ And so with all things that interested him.

To this head, then, the reader is asked to refer many proceedings, which, hitherto, have been cited in proof of an excessive vanity. They were rather the suggestions of a mind well aware of the influence of seeming trifles on the accomplishment of important purposes. The pompous enumeration of his heraldic honours in the preamble to his patent of nobility, and the “extraordinary pomp” with which he was created Viscount and president of the North, were no unnecessary precaution against the surprise and disdain of an insolent herd of courtiers, and were yet ineffectual wholly to restrain their sarcasms.⁴ The unexampled splendour of his after progress to the opening of the Irish parliament was, no doubt, well calculated to “beget

¹ These various letters will be found in the Strafford Papers.

² The beginning of electioneering tactics is also curiously discernible in them.

³ Radcliffe's Essay.

⁴ “The duke of Buckingham himself flew not so high in so short a revolution of time. He was made a viscount with a great deal of high ceremony upon a Sunday, in the afternoon, at Whitehall. My lord Powis, who affects him not much, being told that the heralds had fetched his pedigree from the blood royal, viz. from John of Gaunt, said, ‘Damny, if ever he comes to be king of England, I will turn rebel.’”—*Epistola Howelliana*, No. 34. edit. 1650.

an awful admiration" in the minds of a body of men whose services he was then preparing to obtain by far more questionable means ; — and his fierce resentment of the slightest infringement of the etiquette he had succeeded in establishing, his minute arrangements with respect to the ceremony he conceived necessary to the powers he was entrusted with, have their censure on other grounds than any intrinsic absurdity they evince. It seems to me to be high time, in cases of this sort, to shift our censure to the grosser absurdity of the principles which require such means for their support. Ceremony in the abstract — the mere forms of etiquette, sinking through their own emptiness, sustaining no purpose, and unsustained by none — Wentworth regarded with a more supreme scorn than they were held in by any of his prudish opponents among his own party. "I confess," writes he on one occasion, "this matter of *PLACE* I have ever judged a *womanly thing*, and so love not to trouble myself therewith, more than needs must." He cares not, moreover, submitting cheerfully throughout to the king's unworthy arrangement, — that himself should gather "golden opinions" by a liberal bestowment of honours in Ireland on the more troublesome of his suitors, while to his deputy was confided the ungracious task of interposing a veto on the royal benefaction, and receiving, in his own person, the curses of the disappointed.² Against the bitterness of their discontent, Wentworth had his unfailing resource. "I shall not neglect," he writes, "to preserve myself in good opinion with this people, in regard I become thereby better able to do my master's service ; longer than it works to that purpose, I am very indifferent what they shall think, or can say, concerning me." Not the less scruple had he in complaining of the king's arrangement, when it was tortured to purposes he had never contemplated, and he discovered that the character of his government was become that of an iron rule,

¹ See Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 140.

wherein reward had no place, even for its zealous supporters.¹ For the foolish gravity of the luckless king had continued to pen epistle upon epistle, disposing of the most subordinate posts in the army, as well as the higher dignities of the church. The system, in the first instance, however, was one which a proud man, certainly, might submit to, but a vain man would hardly acquiesce in.

I resume the progress of Wentworth's fortunes. His elevation became an instant subject of general remark; and it is not difficult to discover, that, in his native county, where he was best known, the surprise excited by so sudden a change, after such violent opposition, was balanced by a greater surprise, on the other hand, that the honour should have been delayed so long. "Give me leave to inform you," writes sir Richard Hutton², in a passage which is expressive of both these feelings, "that your late conferred honour is the subject of much discourse here in Yorkshire, which, I conceive, proceeds from the most, not out of any other cause than their known worth in you, which is thought merited it much sooner and greater; but this is only to entertain you a little longer; for I know that your actions are not justly liable to any censure, I am sure not to mine;

¹ One instance, out of the many which strikingly illustrate Wentworth's character in this respect, may be subjoined. Lord Newburgh had procured from the king a promise of promotion for a young man in the Irish army — which the lord deputy felt would be disadvantageous to the public service. Here are some passages of his remonstrance:—"For if I be not favoured so far, as that I may be able to make myself friends, and draw unto myself some dependence, by the expectance men may have from me in these places, that so I may have assistance and cheerful countenance from some, as I have already purchased the sour and bent brow of some of them; I foresee, I shall have little honour, comfort, or safety amongst them. For a man to enforce obedience by punishment only, and be deprived all means to reward some — to be always in vinegar, never to communicate of the sweet — is, in my estimation of it, the meanest, most ignoble condition any free spirit can be reduced unto. . . . The conclusion therefore is, I am confident his majesty will not debar me of what (be it spoken under favour) belongs to my place, for all the solicitation of the pretty busy lord Newburgh, who, if a man should move his majesty for anything in the gift of the chancellor of the duchy, would as pertly cackle, and put himself in the way of complaint, as if he had all the merit and ability in the world to serve his master." — *Stratford Papers*, vol. i. pp. 136, 142.

² *Stratford Papers*, vol. i. p. 47.

for, being yours, it speaks them good to me, if not the best." The character of the important office entrusted to Wentworth included much that was especially grateful to him:—enlarged by his desire, it presented power almost unlimited; freedom at the same time from the little annoyances of the court; and the opportunity of exhibiting his genius for despotic rule in his own county, where personal friends might witness its successes, and old adversaries, should the occasion offer, be made the objects of its triumph. To crown his cause of satisfaction, the duke of Buckingham, who had still hung darkly over his approach to a perfect confidence and favour, was removed by the knife of Felton. Secret congratulations passed, within a few days after this event, between Wentworth and Weston. Every thing seemed to favour his entrance into power, and a light rose upon the future. "You tell me," writes his friend Wandesford to him, "God hath blessed you much in these late proceedings. Truly, I believe it, for by these circumstances we know, we may guess at them we know not."¹ This friend was not forgotten. Though so recently one of the active managers of the impeachment against Buckingham, he was at once received into favour, and Wentworth waited his opportunity to employ the services of others, equally dear and valuable, while he did not fail to improve his opportunities of intercourse among his new associates. Laud was the chief object of his concern in this respect, for he had observed Laud's rising influence with the king.

Wentworth wisely deferred his departure to the North until after the dissolution of parliament. The powers that awaited him there, increased by his stipulations, I have described as nearly unlimited. The council of York, or of the North, whose jurisdiction extended over the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, over the cities of York and Hull, the bishopric of Durham, and the town

¹ *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 49.

of Newcastle-upon-Tyne¹, included within itself the powers of the courts of common law, of the chancery, even of the star chamber. It had originated in the frequent northern rebellions which followed Henry VIII.'s suppression of the lesser monasteries. Before the scheme for the suppression of the greater monasteries was carried into effect, it was judged expedient, in consequence of such disturbances, to grant a commission to the bishop of Llandaff and others, for the purpose of preserving the peace of these northern counties. This commission was, to all appearances, simply one of oyer and terminer; but a clause had been inserted in it, towards the conclusion, authorising the commissioners to hear all causes, real and personal, when either or both of the parties laboured under poverty², and to decide according to sound discretion. This latter licence, however, was soon afterwards declared by all the judges to be illegal; and the power of hearing real and personal causes at all was rarely acted upon up to the second year of Elizabeth's reign, when it also was declared to be illegal, since causes regarding property, whether real or personal, could only be decided by the laws of the land. It was reserved for James to issue, over these decisions, a new commission, "very differing," says Clarendon, "from all that went before." The commissioners were no longer ordered to inquire "per sacramentum bonorum et legalium hominum," or to be controlled by any forms of law, but were referred merely to secret instructions, which, for the first time, were sent down to the council. This at once reduced the whole of the North to an absolute subjection, and that so flagrant, that the judges of the court of common pleas had the decent courage to protest actively against it, by issuing prohibitions on demand to the president and council; and James himself was obliged to have the instructions inrolled, that the people might, in

¹ Rushworth, vol. I. p. 162.

² "Quando ambo partes, vel altera pars, gravata paupertate fuerit." — Rushworth, vol. II. p. 162.

some measure, be able to ascertain by what rules their conduct was to be regulated.¹

One of Wentworth's first announcements, in succeeding to this enormous power, the very acceptance of which was a violation of the vital principles and enactments of the petition of right, was to declare that he would lay any man by the heels who ventured to sue out a prohibition in the courts at Westminster.² His excuse for such a course of proceeding was afterwards boldly avowed.³ "It was a chaste ambition, if rightly placed, to have as much power as may be, that there may be power to do the more good for the place where a man serves." Now Wentworth's notion of good went straight to the establishment of absolute government; and to this, his one grand object, from the very first moment of his public authority, he bent every energy of his soul. He devoted himself, night and day, to the public business. Lord Scroop's⁴ arrears were speedily disposed of, an effective militia was embodied and disciplined, and all possible means were resorted to for an increase of revenue. The fines on recusants, the compositions for knighthood, and the various exactions imposed by government, were rigorously enforced by him. At the same time his hand, though heavy, was equal, and the reports of his government were, in consequence, found to be very various. The complainants contradicted each other. "Your proceeding with the recusants," writes Weston, "is here, where it is well understood, well taken, tho' there be different rumours. For, it is said, that you proceed with extreme rigour, valuing the good and lands of the poorest at the

¹ An interesting account of the origin and practices of this council of York was given by Hyde (Lord Clarendon) in the long parliament. The speech is reported by Rushworth, vol. ii. pp. 162—165.

² Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 159.

³ In his answers to the charges of his impeachment. See Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 161.

⁴ His predecessor in the government of York, afterwards earl of Sunderland. Wandesford speaks of him with great contempt, in a letter to Wentworth: "Your predecessor, like that candle hid under a bushel, while he lived in this place, darkened himself and all that were about him, and dieth towards us (excuse me for the phrase) like a snuff unmannerly left in a corner." — *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 49.

highest rates, or rather above the value, without which you are not content to make any composition. This is not believed, especially by me, who know your wisdom and moderation : and your last too gave much satisfaction even to those who informed me, when they saw thereby, that you had compounded with none but to their own contentment."¹ Cottington, the chancellor of the exchequer, had expressed more characteristically, some days before, the approbation of the court. " For the business of the recusants, my lord treasurer sent immediately your letter to the king (who is in his progress), from whom he received a notable approbation both of your intentions and proceedings, as he himself will tell your lordship in his own letters ; for you are his mistress, and must be cherished and courted by none but himself." So early did the king deem it expedient to exhibit, that peculiar sense of his minister's service. When the minister had bound himself up inextricably with the royal cause, it was thought to be less expedient !

In such a course as this which Wentworth had now entered on, it is quite clear, that to have permitted the slightest disregard of the authority assumed, must have proved fatal. I cannot see any thing unnatural, therefore, in his conduct to Henry Bellasis, and in several other personal questions which at present come under notice. Nothing is apparent in it at variance with the system to be worked out, nothing outrageous or imprudent, as his party have been at some pains to allege. These matters are not to be discussed in the abstract. Despotism is the gist of the question ; and if the phrase " unnatural" is to be used, let it fall upon that. The means employed to enforce it, are obliged, as a matter of necessity, to partake of its own nature, or it would not for an instant be borne. One of Wentworth's first measures had been to claim for himself, as the representative of absolute royalty, the most absolute reverence and respect. On the occasion of a " solemn

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 52.

meeting," however, this young man Bellasis, the son of the lord Faulconberg, manifested a somewhat impudent disregard of these orders, entered the room without "showing any particular reverence" to the lord president, remained there with his hat on, and as Wentworth himself passed out of the meeting "with his hat off, the king's mace-bearer before him, and all the rest of the company uncovered, Mr. Bellasis stood with his hat on his head, looking full upon his lordship without stirring his hat, or using any other reverence or civility." In a man of rank, this was the less to be overlooked. Bellasis was ordered before the council board, where he pleaded that his negligence had arisen from accident, that his look was turned the other way, that he was not aware of the lord president's approach, till he had passed, and, finally, that he meant no disrespect to the lord president's dignity. He was required to express, in addition, his sorrow for having given offence to "lord Wentworth." He refused to do this; but at last, after a month's imprisonment in the Gate-house, was obliged to submit.¹ Other cases of the same description occurred. A barrister at law, something disaffected to the lord president's jurisdiction, expiated his offence in a lowly submission on his knees²; and a punishment fell on sir David Foulis, heavier and more terrible, in proportion to Wentworth's sense of the conduct that had provoked it.

Sir David Foulis was a deputy lieutenant, a justice of the peace, and a member of the council of York. Holding this position in the county, he had, on various occasions, made very disrespectful mention of the council of York; had thrown out several invidious insinuations against its president; and had shown much activity and zeal in instigating persons not to pay the composition for knighthood, which he considered an illegal and oppressive exaction.³ Wentworth immediately resolved

¹ See the proceedings before the council board, Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 88.

² See Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 160.

³ Foulis had, in less important matters, equally sought to baffle the su-

to make him a signal example ; and the extraordinary perseverance, and unscrupulous measures, by dint of which he at last secured this, are too singularly illustrative of his character, to be passed over in silence. An information was immediately ordered to be exhibited in the star chamber against sir David Foulis ; against his son, who had shared in his offence ; and against sir Thomas Layton, the high sheriff of the county, who had sanctioned and assisted the disaffection. Some necessary delays put off the hearing of the cause till after Wentworth's departure to Dublin. But one of the last things with which he busied himself previous to his departure, was the making sure of the issue. He wrote from Westminster to the lord treasurer, (one of the judges that were to try it !) who was then in Scotland — “ I have perused all the examinations betwixt me and Foulis, and find all the material parts of the bill fully proved, so as I have him soundly upon the hip ; but I desire it may not be spoken of, for albeit I may by order of the court see them, yet he may not, till the end of the next term.”¹ Weston did not receive this hint at first very cordially ; but Cottington, another of the judges, wrote to him a week or two after he had quitted London, — “ We say here that your lordship's cause against Foulis shall come to hearing this term, and I inquire much after it.” Wentworth, though then much distracted by sickness and affairs, acted eagerly on this intimation, and sent over a special messenger to Cottington, with a short brief of the strong points of the case, written out by himself, and an extremely characteristic

thority of the lord president. I find the following passage in a letter to Wentworth, from sir William Pennyman, one of his watchful retainers : — “ There was a constable under sir David Foulis (who, by reason of some just excuse as was pretended, appeared not) that refused to pay twelve pence to captain Philips, and it was thus discovered. I bid one of the townsmen lay down twelve pence, and the constable should pay him again. He answered, That the constable told him, that sir David Foulis had commanded him, that if any were demanded he should pay none ; and of this I thought it but my part to acquaint your lordship ; not that I would aggravate any thing against sir David Foulis, for it might only be some misprision in the constable, but that your lordship might know of the least passage which may have relation or reflection upon yourself.”

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 91.

letter. He says boldly,—“ I must wholly recommend myself to your care of me in this, which I take to concern me as much, and to have therein as much the better, as I ever had in any other cause all the days of my life; so I trust a little help will serve the turn.” It is clear, in point of fact, that Wentworth felt that much of his authority, in so far as personal claims sustained it—or, in other words, that much of his probable success or non-success in the new and desperate assumptions, by which alone his schemes of government could be carried on—was concerned in the extent of punishment awarded in the present case, and the corresponding impression likely to be created. He omits no consideration in his letter, therefore, that is in any way likely to influence Cottington. He points out particularly how much the “ king’s service” is concerned, and that the arrow was “ shot at him” in reality. “ The sentencing of this man,” he continues, “ settles the right of knighting business bravely for the crown, for in your sentence you will certainly declare the undoubted right and prerogative the king hath therein by common law, statute law, and the undeniable practice of all times; and therefore I am a suitor by you to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to recommend the cause to the lords, as well in his own right, as in the right of his absent poor servant, and to wish them all to be there. *You* are like to begin the sentence, and I will be bold to tell you my opinion thereon. You have been pleased sometimes, as I sat by you, to ask me my conceit upon the cause then before us;—admit me now to do it upon my own cause, for, by my troth, I will do it as clearly as if it concerned me not.” An aggravation of every point in the case against Foulis and his son follows, with a curious citation of a number of precedents for a heavy punishment, and a strong personal appeal in behalf of his own character. “ Much more I could say, if I were in the star chamber to speak in such a cause for my lord Cottington: but I will conclude with this,—that I protest to God, if it were

in the person of another, I should in a cause so foul, the proof so clear, fine the father and the son, sir David and Henry Foulis, in 2000*l.* apiece to his majesty, and in 2000*l.* apiece damages to myself for their scandal ; and they both to be sent down to York, and there publicly at York assizes next, to acknowledge *in the face of the whole country*, the right his majesty hath to that duty of knighting ; as also the wrong he hath done me ; humbly craving pardon of his majesty, and expressing his sorrow so to have misrepresented his majesty's most gracious proceedings, even in that course of compounding, where the law would have given him much more, as also for so falsely slandering and belying me without a cause. For sir Thomas Layton, he is a fool, led on by the nose by the two former, nor was I willing to do him any hurt ; and so let him go for a coxcomb as he is ; and when he comes home, tell his neighbours, it was well for him he had less wit than his fellows." ¹ As the hearing approached more nearly, Wentworth, regardless of the equivocal reception Weston had formerly given him, wrote again to the lord treasurer. " My lord, I have to be heard this term a cause between sir David Foulis and me in the star chamber ; and a very good one, if I flatter not myself exceedingly : I do most earnestly beseech your lordship's presence, and that I may taste of the ordinary effects of your justice and favour towards me your faithful servant, albeit here removed in another kingdom." ² Scarcely a member of that considerate court did he fail to solicit as earnestly.

How could the honest judges fail to perform, all that had been so asked of them ? Foulis was degraded from his various offices ; fined 5000*l.* to the king, 3000*l.* to Wentworth ; condemned to make a public acknowledgement of the most abject submissiveness " to his majesty and the lord viscount Wentworth, not only in this court,

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 145, 146. A more remarkable opportunity was reserved for him, on the occasion of his own impeachment, to express his contempt of this sir Thomas Layton. See Rushworth, vol. viii. p. 151.

² Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 143.

but in the court of York, and likewise at the open assizes in the same county ;" and, finally, committed to the Fleet during his majesty's pleasure ! His son was also imprisoned and heavily fined. Layton, the "fool," was presented with his acquittal. Wentworth's gratitude at this result overflowed in the most fervent expressions to his serviceable friends. Cottington was warmly thanked. " Such are your continued favours towards me," he wrote to Laud, " which you were pleased to manifest so far in the star chamber, in that cause betwixt sir David Foulis and me, not only by your justice, but by your affection too, as indeed, my lord, the best and greatest return I can make, is to pray, I may be able to deserve," &c. A long despatch to Cooke included an expression of the " obligation put upon me by the care you expressed for me in a suit this last term, which came to a hearing in the star chamber, betwixt sir D. Foulis and me, and of the testimony your affection there gave me, much above my merit. Sir, I humbly thank you," &c. &c. A still more important and weighty despatch to Weston closed with—" I do most humbly thank your lordship for your noble presence and justice in the star chamber ; being the business indeed, in my own estimation, which more concerned me than any that ever beset me, hitherto, in my whole life." And to his cousin the earl of Cleveland he thus expressed himself :— " I understand my cause in the star chamber hath had a fair evening : for which I am ever to acknowledge and reverence the justice of that great court to an absent man. Your lordship hath still been pleased to honour me with your presence, when any thing concerned me there : and believe me, if ever I be absent from the place where I may serve you, it shall be most extremely against my will. I see it must still be my fortune to work it out in a storm, and I find not myself yet so faint, as to give over for that, or to abandon a good cause, be the wind never so loud or sour." One characteristic circumstance remains to be added. All the various letters

and despatches in which the passages I have quoted are to be found, together with others to various noble lords, bear the same date.¹ No one of those who had served Wentworth, was left to speak of thanks that he only had received.²

In relief from this painful exhibition, of a false public principle tyrannizing over private morals and affections, I turn to present the somewhat redeeming aspect of those uncontrolled regards which Wentworth could yet suffer himself to indulge. In consequence of incessant application³ to the duties of his office, he was now able to pass little of his time at the family seat; but he seems to have been anxious that his children, William, and the little lady Anne, should, for health's sake, continue to reside there. He had entrusted them accordingly to the charge of sir William Pennyman, a person bound to his service by various strong obligations.⁴ The lady Arabella, then on the eve of confine-

¹ See the Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 159, 194, 202, 204, &c. &c.

² I may conclude the mention of this Foulis affair by quoting a characteristic note from one of Wentworth's voluminous private despatches to the Rev. Mr. Greenwood. After instructions of various sorts respecting his personal affairs in Yorkshire, which occupy eight closely printed folio pages, the lord deputy subjoins: — "One word more I must of necessity mention, that is, the business betwixt me and sir David Foulis. How this stands I know not: but I pray you inform yourself what lands I have received the rents of by virtue of the extent, and what money Richard Marris has received towards my 3000*l.* damages and costs of suit; and that you will cause a perfect and half year's account to be kept of all the disbursements and receipts concerning this matter in a book precisely by itself. I beseech you set this business in a clear and certain course, for you may be sure, if any advantage or doubt can be raised, I shall be sure to hear of it." — *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 488. Letter from Dublin, dated Nov. 1655.

³ His friends were constantly, but vainly, warning him of the dangers he incurred by this. "I long," writes his friend Mainwaring to him, "to hear of my lady's safe delivery, and of your lordship's coming up... Your lordship must give me leave to put you in mind of your health, for I hear you take no recreation at all." — *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 54.

⁴ This person afterwards played his part at the impeachment. It may be worth while to quote a passage from one of his letters, written at the period referred to in the text, in illustration of the means which Wentworth employed to engage, as deeply as possible, the devotion of men who promised to be useful to him. "For my own part," writes Pennyman to the lord president, "I hope shortly to pay my composition, and I wish I could as easily satisfy your debt, and compound with your lordship, as I can with the king. But it is a thing impossible. My best way, I think, is to do like the painter, who, when after a great deal of pains he could not describe the infinite sorrow of a weeping father, presented him on a table with his face covered, that the spectators might imagine that sorrow which he was not able to express. My debt, like his sorrow, is not to be de-

ment, remained with Wentworth. Pennyman appears to have had careful instructions to write constant accounts of the children, and it is interesting to observe the sort of details that were thought likely to prove most welcome to their father. "Now," he says, "to write that news that I have, which I presume will be most acceptable, your lordship's children are all very well, and your lordship need not fear the going forward of your building, when you have so careful a steward as Mrs. Anne. She complained to me very much of two rainy days, which, as she said, hinder'd her from coming down, and the building from going up, because she was inforced to keep her chamber, and could not overlook the workmen."¹ This important little maiden, then between three and four years old, had certainly inherited the spirit of the Wentworths! "Mr. William and Mrs. Anne," Pennyman writes on another occasion, "are very well. They were not a little glad to receive their tokens, and yet they said, they would be more glad to receive your lordship and their worthy mother. We all, with one vote, agreed in their opinion, and wished, that your lordship's occasions might be as swift and speedy in their despatch as our thoughts and desires are in wishing them."² At the commencement of 1631, Wentworth's second son was born. This child, Thomas Wentworth, after eight months of uncertain health, died. At about this time the services of the lord president seem to have been urgently required in London, and Weston wrote to him entreating his immediate presence.³ The health of the lady Arabella,

scribed, much less my thanks and acknowledgments. Yet give me leave to tell your lordship, that there is not one alive that more honours you than your lordship's most faithful and indebted servant." — *Stratford Papers*, vol. i. p. 56.

¹ *Stratford Papers*, vol. i. p. 55.

² *Ibid.* p. 57.

³ "I hope," writes the lord treasurer, "this bearer will find you well, well disposed, and the better, enduring so prudently as I hear you do, the loss of your younger son. We are glad here to hear you are in so good a temper, and that you receive it as a seasoning of human felicity, which God often sends where he loves best; but you need none of my philosophy; and therefore this is only to remember you of being here in the beginning of the term, according to your promise, and I intreat you to think it ne-

however, who was again near the period of confinement, was now an object of deep anxiety to Wentworth, and he remained with her in Yorkshire. In October, a second daughter, the young Arabella, was born to him, and within the same month, on a Tuesday morning, says Radcliffe, "his dear wife, the lady Arabella died.¹ I took this earl out of bed, and carried him to receive his last blessing from her."² Wentworth deeply felt her loss, and never, at any time, through his after life, recalled her beauty, her accomplishments, or her virtue, without the most tender enthusiasm.

Some days after this sad event, Wentworth received intelligence from his friend and relation, sir Edward Stanhope, of certain intrigues which, during his absence, had been moving against him in the court at London. "I received your letter," he writes back, "by which I perceive you have me in memory, albeit God hath taken from me your noblest cousin, the incomparable woman and wife my eyes shall ever behold. I must confess this kindness works with me much. After some allusions to Stanhope's intelligence, he proceeds: "Yet truly, I cannot believe so ill of the propounders, both because in my own nature I am the man least suspicious alive, and that my heart tells me, I never deserved but well of them, indeed passing well. It is impossible it should be plotted for my ruin; sure at least impossible I can think so; and if there can be such mischief in the world, then is this confidence given me as a snare by God to punish me for my sins yet further, and to draw me yet more immediately and singly to look up to him, without leaving me any thing below to trust or look to. The worst sure that can be is, with honour, profit, and

essary to make haste. We want you now for your counsel and help in many things." — *Stratford Papers*, vol. i. p. 58.

¹ Essay. Mr. Mac Diarmid and other writers have fallen into the error of supposing that she died after the birth of the last boy.

² Radcliffe here alludes, "by this earl," to the boy William, who was earl of Stratford when his essay was written. Mr. Brodie whimsically turns it into sir George Radcliffe carrying Wentworth himself out of bed to receive his wife's last blessing. *Brit. Emp.* vol. iii. p. 129.

contentment, to set me a little further off from treading upon any thing themselves desire,— which granted, I am at the height of my ambitions, brought home to enjoy myself and friends, to leave my estate free and plentiful to your little cousin, and which is more than all this, quietly and in secret to serve my Maker, to commune with him more frequently, more profitably, I trust, for my soul than formerly.¹"

Of short duration was this composed attitude of mind! The ink was scarcely dry upon his letter when he re-appeared in his court at York, pursued with startling energy some of his most resolute measures, and re-assured his master in London of the invaluable nature of his services, by sundry swellings of the royal revenue. Money, the main nerve that was to uphold the projected system, was still the grand object of Wentworth's care, and money he sent to Charles. The revenue, which, on his succeeding to the presidency of York, he had found no more in amount than 2000*l.* a year, he had already raised to an annual return of 9500*l.*²

Still, however, intriguers were busy against him, and a rumour was conveyed by them to Weston's ear, that he had resolved to use his notoriously growing influence with the king, to endeavour to win for himself the staff of the lord treasurer. The trusty Wandesford discovered this, and despatched the intelligence to Wentworth. The next courier from Yorkshire brought a packet to Weston. "Let shame and confusion then cover me," ran the characteristic letter it enclosed, "if I do not abhor the intolerable anxiety I well understand to wait inseparably upon that staff, if I should not take a serpent as soon into my bosom, and,— if I once find so mean a thought of me can enter into your heart, as that to compass whatever I could take most delight in, I should go about beguilefully to supplant any ordinary man (how much more then impotently to catch at such a staff, and from my lord treasurer)— if I leave not the court instantly, betake myself to my private fortune,

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 61.

² Ibid. pp. 88, 90.

reposedly seek my contentment and quiet within my own doors, and follow the dictamen of my own reason and conscience, more according to nature and liberty, than in those gyves, which now pinch and hang upon me. Thus you see how easily you may be rid of me when you list, and in good faith with a thousand thanks: yet be pleased not to judge this proceeds out of any wayward weary humour in me neither; for, my endeavours are as vigorous and as cheerful to serve the crown and you as ever they were, nor shall you ever find them to faint or flasquer. I am none of those soft tempered spirits: but I cannot endure to be mistaken, or suffer my purer and more intire affections to be soiled, or in the least degree prejudiced, with the loathsome and odious attributes of covetousness and ambitious falsehood. Do me but right in this. Judge my watches to issue (as in faith they do) from clearer cisterns. I lay my hand under your foot, I despise danger, I laugh at labour. Command me in all difficulties, in all confidence, in all readiness. No, no, my lord," continued Wentworth, lapsing into the philosophic tone he could assume so well, "No, no, my lord! they are those sovereign and great duties I owe his majesty and your lordship, which thus provoke me beyond my own nature rather to leave those cooler shades, wherein I took choicest pleasure, and thus put myself with you into the heat of the day, than poorly and meanly to start aside from my obligations, convinced in myself of the most wretched ingratitudo in the whole world. God knows how little delight I take in the outwards of this life, how infinitely ill satisfied I am with myself, to find daily those calm and quiet retirements, wherein to contemplate some things more divine and sacred than this world can afford us, at every moment interrupted thorough the importunity of the affairs I have already. To heaven and earth I protest it, it grieves my very soul!"¹ Weston's suspicions, which, had he known Wentworth better, would never for a moment have been entertained, could not

¹ *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. pp. 79, 80.

but sink before such language as this ; and the lord president's speedy arrival in London, exploded every hostile attempt that still lingered about the court against him.

Charles was now remodelling his counsels. The extraordinary success of Wentworth's northern presidency had inspired him with new hopes ; his coffers had been filled without the hated help of the house of commons ; and that prospect of independent authority which he earnestly entertained, no longer seemed distant or hopeless. A conclusion of peace with France and Spain favoured the attempt. He offered lord Wentworth the government of Ireland. His favourite scheme was to deliver up the three divisions of the kingdom to the superintendence of three favourite ministers, reserving to himself a general and not inactive control over all. Laud was the minister for England, and the affairs of Scotland were in the hands of the marquess of Hamilton. Ireland, accepted by Wentworth, completed the proposed plan.

The condition of Ireland, at this moment, was in the highest degree difficult and dangerous. From the conquest of Henry the second up to the government of Essex and Mountjoy, her history had been a series of barbarous disasters. The English settlers, in a succession of ferocious conflicts, had depraved themselves below the level of the uncivilized Irish ; for, instead of diffusing improvement and civilization, they had obstructed both. The system of government was in consequence become the mere occasional and discretionary calling of a parliament by the lord deputy for the time, composed entirely of delegates from within the English pale, whose duty began and closed in the sanctioning some new act of oppression, or the screening some new offender from punishment. One glimpse of a more beneficial purpose broke upon Ireland in the reign of Henry the seventh, during the government of sir Edward Poynings, who procured a decree from the parliament, that all the laws theretofore enacted in England should have equal force in Ireland. With the determination

of destroying, at the same time, the discretionary power that had been used, of summoning and dismissing parliaments at pleasure, and of passing sudden laws for the purpose of occasional oppressions, sir Edward Poynings procured the enactment of his famous bill, that a parliament should not be summoned above once a year in Ireland, nor even then, till the propositions on which it was to decide had been seen and approved by the privy council of England. But the native Irish chiefs had been too fiercely hardened in their savage distrust of the English to reap any advantage from these measures. They retreated to their fastnesses, and only left them to cover the frontier with outrage and bloodshed.

Lord Montjoy at last subdued them, released the peasantry from their control, and framed a plan of impartial government. In the course of the ensuing reign new settlements of English were accordingly formed, the rude Irish customs were discountenanced, the laws of England every where enforced, courts of judicature established after the English model, and representatives from every part of the kingdom summoned to the parliament. When England herself, however, began to groan under oppressions, Ireland felt them still more heavily, and was flung back with a greater shock. The arbitrary decrees of Charles's privy council, military exactions, and martial law, were strangling the liberties of Ireland *in their very birth*. Bitter, too, in its aggravation of other grievances, was Irish theological discord. The large majority of papists, the sturdy old protestants of the pale, the new settlers of James, presbyterians, and puritans,— all were in nearly open warfare, and the penalties enforced against recusants were equally hateful to all. The rigour of the church courts, and the exaction of tithes, kept up these discontents by constant exacerbation.

Such was the state of affairs when Charles sent lord Falkland to Dublin. His lordship soon found that

his government was little more than the name of one. The army had gradually sunk to 1350 foot and 200 horse; which mean force, divided into companies, was commanded by privy counsellors, who, managing to secure their own pay out of the receipts of the exchequer, compounded with the privates for a third or fourth part of the government allowance! Insignificant in numbers, such management had rendered the soldiers ten times more inefficient, and, utterly wanting in spirit or conduct, often, indeed, the mere menial servants of the officers, they excited only contempt. Over and over again lord Falkland detailed this state of things to Charles, and prayed for assistance; but the difficulties in England, and the deficiencies in the Irish revenue, united to withhold it. At last, however, warned by imminent dangers that threatened, the king announced his resolution to augment the Irish forces to 5000 foot and 500 horse, and, unable to supply the necessary charge from an empty treasury, he commanded the new levies to be quartered on the different towns and counties, each of which was to receive a certain portion of the troops, for three months in turn, and to supply them with the required necessities. Alarmed by this project, — and justly considering a great present sacrifice, with some chance of profit, better than to be burthened with a tax of horrible uncertainty, which yet gave them no reasonable reliance for the future,—the Irish people instantly offered the king a liberal voluntary contribution, on condition of the redress of certain grievances. Catholics and protestants concurred in this, and delegates from both parties laid the proposal before the king himself, in London. The money they offered first; in the shape of a voluntary contribution of 100,000*l.*, the largest sum ever yet returned by Ireland, and to be paid by instalments of 10,000*l.* a quarter. Their list of grievances they produced next; desiring relief from the exactions of courts of justice, from military depredations, from trade monopolies, from the religious penal statutes, from retrospective inquiries into defective titles

beyond a period of sixty years¹, and, finally, praying that the concessions should be confirmed by an Irish parliament. Some of these conditions were intolerable to Charles. A parliament was at all times hateful to him, and scarcely less convenient than the absence of parliaments, to a prince who desired to be absolute, was the privilege of increasing the royal revenue, and obliging the minions of royalty, by discovering old flaws in titles. Glorious had been the opportunity of escheating large possessions to the crown, or of passing them over to new proprietors! Yet here was a present offer of money, an advantage not to be foreborne — whereas, so convenient was Charles's moral code, an assent to obnoxious matters was a thing to be withdrawn at the first convenient opportunity, and evaded at any time. The "graces," as the concessions were called, were accordingly promised to be acceded to; instalments of the money were paid; and writs were issued by lord Falkland for a parliament.

The joyful anticipations raised in consequence soon received a check. The writs were declared void by the English council, in consequence of the provisions of Poynings's law² not having been attended to by lord Falkland, who was proved to have issued the writs on his own authority, without having previously transmitted to England a certificate of the laws to be brought forward in the proposed parliament, with reasons for enacting them, and then, as he ought to have done, waited for his majesty's licence of permission under the great seal. Still the people thought this a casual error, and they waited in confidence of its remedy. The Roman catholic party, meanwhile, encouraged by the favourable reception of their delegates at court, and elated by a confidence of protection from the queen, proceeded to act at once in open defiance of the penal statutes. They seized churches for their own worship, thronged the

¹ It had been usual to dispossess proprietors of estates, for defects in their tenures as old as the original conquest of Ireland! No man was secure at his own hearth-stone. See Leland, vol. ii. pp. 465—468.

² These provisions had received additional ratification by subsequent statutes, the 3d and 4th of Philip and Mary.

streets of Dublin with their processions, erected an academy for the religious instruction of their youth, and reinforced their clergy by supplies of young priests from the colleges of France and Spain. The extreme alarm of the protestants at these manifestations, induced lord Falkland at last to issue a proclamation, prohibiting the Roman catholic clergy from exercising any control over the people, and from celebrating their worship in public. The Roman catholics, incensed at this step, now clamoured for the promised graces and parliament; the protestants had too many reasons to join them in the demand; and both parties united in declaring that payment of the contribution, under present circumstances, was an intolerable burthen. In vain lord Falkland offered to accept the payment in instalments of 5000*l.*, instead of 10,000*l.*, a year; the discontents daily increased, and, in the end, drove the lord deputy from power. Lord Falkland, the object of censure that should have fallen elsewhere, returned to England.

A temporary administration, consisting of two lords justices; the one, lord chancellor, viscount Ely, and the other, lord high treasurer, the earl of Cork; was formed. Both these noblemen were zealously opposed to the Roman catholics, and instantly, without waiting the king's orders, commenced a rigorous execution of the penal statutes against recusants. An intimation from England of the royal displeasure, threw some shadow over these proceedings, but not till the opposition they had strengthened had succeeded in suppressing the academy and religious houses which had been erected by the Roman catholics in Dublin. To complete the difficulties of the present state of affairs, the termination of the voluntary contribution now fast approached, and the temper of all parties left any hope of its renewal more than desperate.

Imminent, then, was the danger which now beset the government of Ireland. Without the advantage of internal strength, it had no prospect of external aid. The treasury in England could not afford a farthing to increase the army, the money designed for that purpose

had been swallowed up in more immediate necessities, and the army sank daily into the most miserable inefficiency. Voluntary supply was out of the question, and compulsory exactions, without the help of soldiers, still more ridiculously vain. In the genius of the lord president of the north, Charles had one hope remaining.¹

Wentworth received his commission in the early months of 1632. He resolved to defer his departure, however, till he had informed himself fully of the state of his government, and fortified himself with all the authorities that should be needful. The energy, the prudence, the various powers of resource, with which he laboured to this end, are only to be appreciated by an examination of the original documents, which still remain in evidence of all.² They were most extraordinary. The first thing he did was to procure an order from the king, in restriction of the authority of the government of lords justices, during his own absence from Dublin.³ In answer, then, to various elaborate congratulations from the officers of the Irish government, he sent back cold, but peremptory, requests for information of their various departments. The treasury necessities, and means of supply, were his primary care. The lords justices declared that the only possible resource, in that respect, was to levy rigorously the penalties imposed by statute on the Roman catholics, for absence from public worship. The cabinet in London, powerless of expedient, saw no chance of avoiding this, when lord Cottington received from York one of Wentworth's vigorous dispatches.

¹ Ample authorities for this rapid summary of Irish affairs will be found in Leland's History, vol. ii. p. 107. to the end, and vol. iii. pp. 1—10; edition of 1733. I have also availed myself of Mr. Mac Diarmid's account, Lives of British Statesmen, vol. ii. pp. 125—155.

² See the Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 61—97.

³ Id. ibid. p. 63. After intimating to the lords justices Wentworth's appointment, the royal order proceeds:—"We have, therefore, in the mean time thought fit hereby to require you not to pass any pardons, offices, lands, or church livings by grant under our great seal of that our kingdom; nor to confer the honour of knighthood upon any, or to dispose of any company of horse or foot there: only you are required in this interim to look to the ordinary administration of civil justice, and to the good government of our subjects and army there."

"Now, my lord," reasoned the new lord deputy, "I am not ignorant that what hath been may happen out again, and how much every good Englishman ought, as well in reason of state as conscience, to desire that kingdom were well reduced to conformity of religion with us here—as, indeed, shutting up the postern gate, hitherto open to many a dangerous inconvenience and mischief, which have over-lately laid too near us, exhausted our treasures, consumed our men, busied the perplexed minds of her late majesty and all her ministers. Yet, my lord, it is a great business, hath many a root lying deep, and far within ground; which would be first thoroughly opened before we judge what height it may shoot up unto, when it shall feel itself once struck at, to be loosened and pulled up; nor, at this distance, can I advise it should be at all attempted, *until the payment for the king's army be elsewhere and surelier settled, than either upon the voluntary gift of the subjects, or upon the casual income of the tweepence a Sunday.* Before this fruit grows ripe for gathering, the army must not live *præcario*, fetching in every morsel of bread upon their swords' points. Nor will I so far ground myself with an implicit faith upon the all-foreseeing providence of the earl of Cork, as to receive the contrary opinion from him in *verbo magistri*; when I am sure that if such a rush as this should set that kingdom in pieces again, I must be the man that am like to bear the heat of the day, and to be also accountable for the success, not he. Blame me not, then, where it concerns me so nearly, both in honour and safety, if I much rather desire to hold it in suspence, and to be at liberty upon the place to make my own election, than thus be closed up by the choice and admission of strangers, whom I know not, how they stand affected, either to me or the king's service. Therefore let me beseech you to consult this business seriously with his majesty and with my lord treasurer. Admit me here, with all submission, to express myself upon this point; and finally, be pleased to draw it to some present resolution, which, the short-

ness of time considered, must instantly be put in action. I do conceive, then, what difficulties, nay, what impossibility soever, the council of Ireland hath pretended, *that it is a very easy work to continue the contribution upon the country for a year longer, which will be of infinite advantage to his majesty's affairs; for we look very ill about us, if in that time we find not the means either to establish that revenue in the crown, or raise some other equivalent thereunto.* And this we gain, too, without hazarding the public peace of the subject by any new apprehensions, which commonly accompany such fresh undertakings, especially being so general as is the twelve-pence upon the absentees." The despatch then went on to suggest, that the very representations of the lords justices might be used for the purpose of dispensing with their propositions, — and to draw out, for the instruction of the council, a succinct plan of effecting this.¹

Distrustful, notwithstanding, of the energy of Cottington and his associates, Wentworth followed his despatch in person, arrived in London², prevailed with the council to enter into his design, and had a letter immediately sent off to the lords justices, bitterly complaining of all the evils they had set forth, of the impossibility of raising voluntary supplies, and the consequent necessity of exacting the penalties. "Seeing," added the king, by Wentworth's dictation, "Seeing you conceive there is so much difficulty in the settlement of the payments, and considering the small hopes you mention in your letters of further improvement there, *we must be constrained, if they be not freely and thankfully continued, to strengthen our former graces vouchsafed during those contributions, and make use more strictly of our legal rights and profits to be employed for so good and necessary a work.*" Leaving this letter, with other secret instructions, to work their effects, Wentworth

¹ See Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 75—77.

² This is evident from a subsequent despatch to Cottington, in which he reminds him that the resolution I am about to describe was taken finally "in presence of the treasurer, your lordship, the secretary Cooke, and myself." Vol. i. p. 74.

next despatched a private and confidential agent to Ireland, himself a Roman catholic, to represent to his brethren personally, and in secret, the lord deputy's regard for them, his willingness to act as a mediator, and his hope that a moderate voluntary contribution might be accepted in release of their heavy fines ; — in one word, he sent this person “ a little to feel their pulse underhand.”¹ “ The instrument I employed,” Wentworth afterwards wrote to Cottington, “ was himself a papist, and knows no other than that the resolution of the state here is set upon that course [of exacting the recusant fines], and that I do this privately, in favour and well-wishing, to divert the present storm ; which else would fall heavy upon them all ; being a thing framed and prosecuted by the earl of Cork ; which makes the man labour it in good earnest, taking it to be a cause *pro aris et focis*.” The first thing this agent discovered and communicated to his employer, was that his temporary representatives, the lords justices, were seeking to counteract his purpose, and had utterly neglected the instructions of the last letter that had been despatched to them from the king. With characteristic energy, Wentworth seized this incident for a double purpose of advantage.

There would be little hazard in supposing that their lordships of Ely and Cork were indebted to the extraordinary letter from which I shall quote the opening passages, for the strongest sensation their official lives had known. “ Your lordships,” wrote Wentworth, “ heretofore received a letter from his majesty, directed to yourselves alone, of the 14th April last ; a letter of exceeding much weight and consequence ; a letter most weightily and maturely consulted, and ordered by his majesty himself ; a letter that your lordships were expressly appointed you should presently cause to be entered in the council book, and also in the signet office ; to the end there might be public and uniform notice taken of his majesty's pleasure so signified by all his ministers, and others there, whom it

¹ See Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 73, 74.

might concern. How is it, then, that I understand this letter hath, by your lordships' order, lain ever since (and still doth, for anything I know) sealed up in silence at the council table? Not once published or entered, as was precisely directed, and expected from your lordships! copies denied to all men! and yet not so much as the least reason or colour certified over hither for your neglect, or (to term it more mildly) forbearance, to comply with his majesty's directions in that behalf! Believe me, my lords, I fear this will not be well taken, if it come to be known on this side, and in itself lies open enough to very hard and ill construction, reflecting and trenching deeper than at first may be apprehended. *And pardon me, my lords, if in the discharge of my own duty I be transported beyond my natural modesty and moderation, and the respects I personally bear your lordships, plainly to let you know I shall not connive at such a presumption in you, thus to evacuate my master's directions; nor contain myself in silence, seeing them before my face so slighted, or at least laid aside, it seems, very little regarded.* Therefore I must, in a just contemplation of his majesty's honour and wisdom, crave leave to advise you forthwith to mend your error by entering and publishing that letter as is commanded you, or I must, for my own safety, acquaint his majesty with all; and I pray God the keeping it close all this while, be not, in the sequel, imputed unto you as a mighty disservice to his majesty, and which you may be highly answerable for.¹ The next communication from his popish agent, informed Wentworth that the omissions complained of had been repaired, and, further, that all parties had agreed to "continue on the contribution as now it is," till his coming. The deputy was thus left to complete, without embarrassment, his already meditated financial projects; and the lords justices, with their friends, had leisure to consider, and amene themselves to, the new and most peremptory lord, who was shortly to appear amongst them!

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 77.

Ireland was hereafter to be the scene of an absolute government,—the government of a comprehensive mind, but directed to a narrow and mistaken purpose. The first grand object of Wentworth's exertions, was to be accomplished in rendering the king's power uncontrollable. Beyond this other schemes arose. The natural advantages of Ireland, worked to the purpose of her own revenue, might be further pressed to the aid of the English treasury,—and a scheme of absolute power successfully established in Ireland, promised still greater service to the royalist side in the English struggle.

The union of singular capacity with the most determined vigour which characterized every present movement of Wentworth, while it already, in itself, seemed a forecast of vast though indefinable success, left the king no objection to urge against any of the powers he demanded. The following stipulations were at once assented to. They are all characteristic of Wentworth, of his sagacity no less than his ambition. They open with the evident assumption that the debts of the Irish establishment will soon be settled, and with consequent cautious exceptions against the rapacity of those numerous courtiers, who waited, as Wentworth well knew, to pounce upon the first vacant office, or even the first vacant shilling. The lord deputy demanded —

" That his majesty may declare his express pleasure, that no Irish suit, by way of reward, be moved for by any of his servants, or others, before the ordinary revenue there become able to sustain the necessary charge of that crown, and the debts thereof be fully cleared.—That there be an express caveat entered with the secretaries, signet, privy-seal, and great seal here, that no grant of what nature soever, concerning Ireland, be suffered to pass till the deputy be made acquainted, and it hath first passed the great seal of that kingdom, according to the usual manner.—That his majesty signify his pleasure, that especial care be taken hereafter, that sufficient and credible persons be chosen to supply such

bishopricks as shall fall void, to be admitted of his privy council, to sit as judges, and serve of his learned council there ; that he will vouchsafe to hear the advice of his deputy before he resolve of any in these cases ; and that the deputy be commanded to inform his majesty truly and impartially, of every man's particular diligence and care in his service there, to the end his majesty may timely and graciously reward the well deserving, by calling them home to better preferments here.—That no particular complaint of injustice or oppression be admitted here against any unless it appear the party made his first address to the deputy.—That no confirmation of any reversion of offices within that kingdom be had, or any new grant of a reversion hereafter to pass.—That no new office be erected within that kingdom before such time as the deputy be therewith acquainted, his opinion first required, and certified back accordingly.—That the places in the deputy's gift, as well of the civil as the martial list, be left freely to his dispose ; and that his majesty will be graciously pleased not to pass them to any upon suit made unto him here."¹

Lord Wentworth further required and obtained, in the shape of supplementary private propositions, the following :—

" That all propositions moving from the deputy touching matters of revenue may be directed to the lord treasurer of England, without acquainting the rest of the committee for Irish affairs.² — That the address of all other dispatches for that kingdom be, by special direction of his majesty, applied to one of the secretaries

¹ I have already alluded to the limitation under which this proposition was acceded to by the king. Charles was to make the grants conditionally to the applicants, and Wentworth was to concede or refuse them as the good of the service required. " Yet so too," stipulated the king, " as I may have thanks howsoever; that if there be any thing to be denied, you may do it, not I." — *Stratford Papers*, vol. i. p. 149.

² Reasons are subjoined to each proposition. As a specimen I quote from the few lines appended to the above :—" Thus shall his majesty's profits go more stilly and spendily to their ends without being unseasonably vented as they pass along; and the deputy not only preserved but encouraged to deliver his opinion freely and plainly upon all occasions, when he is assured to have it kept secret and in few and safe hands."

singly.¹ — That the lord viscount Falkland be required to deliver in writing in what condition he conceives his majesty's revenue and the government of that kingdom now stand, together with a particular of such designs for advancing his majesty's service, as were either unbegun or unperfected by him when he left the place, as also his advice how they may be best pursued and effected."

Not even content with these vast and extraordinary powers and precautions, lord Wentworth engaged for another condition—the most potent and remarkable of all—that he was to consider them changeable on the spot whenever the advancement of his majesty's affairs required. "Your lordship may rest assured," writes secretary Cooke, "that no mediation shall prevail with his majesty to exempt the lord Balfour from the rest of the opposers of the contributions, but that he will be left with the rest to the censure of your justice. *And I am persuaded, that in this and all the rest of your proceedings for his service, his princely resolution will support you, if the rest of your friends here do their duties in their true representation thereof unto him.* As your speedy passage for Ireland is most necessary for that government, so your safety concerneth his majesty's honour no less than your own. It is therefore found reasonable, that you expect captain Plumleigh, who, with this fair weather, will come about in a short time, (so as it may be hoped) he will prevent your coming to that port, where you appoint to come aboard. *Your instructions (as you know) as well as the establishment are changeable upon occasions for advancement of the affairs.* And as you will be careful not to change without cause, so when you find it necessary, his majesty will conform them by his wisdom to that he findeth fit upon your advice. For my service in any thing that may tend to further your noble ends, besides

¹ "This I will have done by secretary Cooke," so written by the king himself upon the original paper.

the duty of my place and trust, the confidence you repose in me, and the testimony you give thereof, are so obligatory, that I must forget myself much, if you find not my professions made good. For the Yorkshire business, in the castigation of those mad men and fools¹ which are so apt to fall upon you, that course which yourself, the lord Cottington, and Mr. attorney resolve upon, is here also taken, that prosecution may be made in both courts. I find your vice-president a young man of good understanding and counsellable, and very forward to promote his majesty's service.² The secretary is also a discreet well-tempered man."³

Wentworth, notwithstanding his new dignities, had

¹ These "mad men and fools" were "sir John Boucheier and his complices," who soon received their most unjust judgment. This passage will serve to prove the value of Wentworth's answer to this matter, also urged against him afterwards on his impeachment. "For the sentence against sir John Boucheier, the defendant was not at all acquainted with it, being then in Ireland!" — See *Rashworth*, vol. ii. p. 161. It is to be observed at the same time that the commons had not the advantage of the present evidence.

² Edward Osborne had been finally chosen by Wentworth. A passage in the following extract from a letter of sir William Penniman's shows that the latter had been previously thought of for the office: — "My servant can best satisfy your lordship of the good health of Mr. Williams and Mrs. Anne, for he saw them both before his journey; they have been very well, and I trust will continue so. I am most willing, I wish I could say able too, to be your lordship's vice-president, but the defect of this must be supplied with the surplusage of the other."

³ *Stratford Papers*, vol. i. p. 91. The allusion to lord Balfour, with which the above despatch opens, requires explanation. Wentworth, who had already possessed himself of the most intimate knowledge of the state of parties and disputes in his new government, had written thus some days before to Cooke: — "I have sent here likewise unto you a letter from the lords justices, together with all the examinations taken of the lord Balfour, and the rest which refused the contribution in the county of Fermanagh, by all which you will find plainly how busy the sheriff and sir William Cole have been in mutinying the country against the king's service; and I beseech you acquaint his majesty therewithal, and for the rest leave it to me when I come on the other side, and believe me, I will teach both them and others better grounds of duty and obedience to his majesty than they have shown in this wanton and saucy boldness of theirs. And so much the more careful must we be to correct this peccant humour in the first beginnings, in regard this is a great revenue, which his majesty's affairs cannot subsist without; so that we must either continue that to the crown, or get something from that people, of as much value another way; wherein I conceive it most necessary to proceed most severely in the punishment of this offence, which will still all men else for a many years after; and, therefore, if the king or yourself conceive otherwise, help me in time, or else I shall be sure to lay it on them soundly. My lord Balfour excuseth his fault, and will certainly make means to his majesty for favour, wherin under correction, *if his majesty intend to prosecute the rest, I conceive it is clearly best for the service to leave him entirely to run a common fortune*, as he is in a common case with the rest of those delinquents." — *Stratford Papers*, vol. i. p. 87.

resolved not to resign the presidency of Yorkshire. And here we see, in the midst of his extraordinary preparations for his Irish government, he had yet found time to prosecute every necessary measure that had a view to the security of his old powers in the north. We gather from this letter of the secretary their general character. He celebrated his departure by some acts of vigorous power, and he wrung from the council of London such amplifications even of his large and unusual presidential commission, as might compensate for the failure of personal influence and energy consequent on his own departure.¹ He pressed more especially for

¹ The obtaining of such a commission formed one of the articles of his after impeachment, and his answer was, that he had never sat as president after the articles were framed. But he did not deny that the power they vested was exercised by his vice-president, on the lord-president's behalf, and consequently with the full responsibility of the latter. His instrumentality in obtaining these instructions, indeed, was not directly proved; but it was proved that on one occasion "the president fell upon his knees and desired his majesty to enlarge his powers, or that he might have leave to go home and lay his bones in his own cottage." — *Rushworth*, vol. ii. p. 161. The commission was granted immediately after. Its most terrible article was that which in every case, in distinct terms, wrested from the subject the privilege of protection in Westminster Hall, and cut him off from any share in the rights, poor and confined as they were, of the rest of his fellow subjects. During Wentworth's absence in Ireland, one judge of the exchequer, Vernon, dared to move in defiance of these monstrous restrictions. The lord deputy instantly wrote to Cottington, described Vernon's conduct, and thus proceeded: — "If this were not a godly example in the face of a country living under the government of the president and council, for the respect and obedience due to the authority set over them by his majesty, of that awful reverence and duty which we all owe to his majesty's declared good will and pleasure under the great seal, I am much mistaken. I do, therefore, most humbly beseech this judge may be censured at the council board, and charged with these two great misdeemours; which if he deny, I pray you say openly in council I am the person will undertake to prove them against him, and will affirm that by these strange extravagant courses he distracts his majesty's government and affairs more than ever he will be of use unto them, and that, therefore, I am a most earnest suitor to his majesty and their lordships, that he be not admitted to go that circuit hereafter; and, indeed, I do most earnestly beseech his majesty by you, that we may be troubled no more with such a peccish indiscreet piece of flesh. I confess I disdain to see the gournmen in this sort hang their noses over the flowers of the crown, blow and snuffle upon them, till they take both seal and beauty off them; or to have them put such a prejudice upon all other sorts of men, as if none were able or worthy to be intrusted with honour and administration of justice but themselves." This is surely a characteristic betrayal of Wentworth's interest in the powers of the new commission! Some difficulties appear to have been encountered in the way of the course he proposed against this judge, for we find him at a subsequent date writing thus to the lord treasurer: — "If Mr. Justice Vernon be either removed or amended in his circuit, I am very well content, being by me only considered as he is in relation to his majesty's service in those parts,—the gentleman otherwise unknown to me by injury or benefit." — See *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. pp. 129, 235.

the settlement of a dispute with lord Faulconberg by a peremptory punishment of the latter: "for this you know," he wrote to the secretary, "is a public business, and myself being to leave this government for a while, Desirous to settle and establish this council in their just powers and credits, which is fit for the king's service, *would fain see ourselves righted upon this arrogant lord, and so discipline all the rest upon his shoulders, as I might well hope they should exercise their jurisdiction in peace during the time of my absence.*"¹ Lord Wentworth's fiercest prosecution of apparent personal resentments was, in all cases, the simple carrying out of that despotic principle in its length and breadth, and with reference to its ulterior aims, which had become the very law of his being. In this point of view only can they be justly or intelligibly considered. The cruelties associated with the name now about to be introduced, have their exaggeration, or their excuse, according as the feelings of the reader may determine—but, at all events, have their rational and philosophical solution—in this point of view alone.

The lord Mountnorris held at this time the office of vice-treasurer, which in effect was that of treasurer of Ireland. Clarendon observes of him, "He was a man of great industry, activity, and experience in the affairs of Ireland, having raised himself from a very private mean condition (having been an inferior servant to lord Chichester) to the degree of a viscount, and a privy counsellor, and to a very ample revenue in lands and offices; and had always, by servile flattery and sordid application, wrought himself into trust and nearness with all deputies at their first entrance upon their charge, informing them of the defects and oversights of their predecessors; and after the determination of their commands and return into England, informing the

¹ A note subjoined to this is too characteristic to be omitted:—"There is like to be a good fine gotten of him [lord Faulconberg] for the king, which, considering the manner of his life, were wonderous ill lost, and lost it will be, if I be not here: therefore I pray you let me have my directions with all possible speed."

state here, and those enemies they usually contracted in that time, of whatsoever they had done or suffered to be done amiss ; whereby they either suffered disgrace or damage, as soon as they were recalled from those honours. In this manner he began with his own master, the lord Chichester ; and continued the same arts upon the lord Grandison, and the lord Falkland, who succeeded ; and, upon that score, procured admission and trust with the earl of Strafford, upon his first admission to that government." ¹ This is quoted here, for the purpose of introducing a letter of Wentworth's, which was written at about this time, and which appears to me not only to corroborate Clarendon's account, but (in opposition to those who have urged, as Mr. Brodie ², that Wentworth began his official connection with Mountnorris, by "courting" the latter) to give at the same time the noble vice-treasurer and informer-general fair warning, of the character and intentions of the lord deputy he had thereafter to deal with. Mountnorris had previously allied himself with Wentworth by marriage with a near relative of his deceased wife, the lady Arabella. "I was not a little troubled," runs Wentworth's letter, "when my servant, returning from Dublin, brought back with him the inclosed, together with the certainty of your lordship's yet abode at West-Chester. I have hereupon instantly despatched this footman, expressly to find you out ; and to solicit you, most earnestly, to pass yourself over on the other side : for besides that the monies which I expect from you (which I confess you might some other ways provide for), the customs there, you know how loose they lie ; our only confidence here being in you." Several other details are pressed with great earnestness. "Therefore," he continues, "for the love of God, linger no longer, but leaving your lady with my lady Cholmondeley, in case her present estate will not admit her to pass along with you,— I will, God willing, not fail to

¹ Hist. of Rebellion, vol. i. p. 175.

² Hist. of Brit. Empire, vol. iii. p. 70.

wait on her ladyship over myself, and deliver her safe to you at Dublin: — the rather for that to tell your lordship plainly, which I beseech you keep very private to yourself, it will be impossible for me to despatch the king's business, and my own, and get hence before the end of November at the soonest. My lord Ranelagh will be here, I believe, within this day or two; and, in regard of his and my lord Dungarvan's being here before, I hold it fit to communicate with your lordship the occasion, which is this, — that there being a proposition made to me for a marriage with my lord of Cork's daughter¹, I, that had no thought such a way, did nevertheless move a match, betwixt the young lord and my lord Clifford's daughter, which was by them accepted; and so he comes now, I believe, to treat further of this matter with my lord Clifford. But this I must entreat you to keep private; with this, that albeit the house of Cumberland is to me, as all the world knows that knows me, in next esteem to my own family, yet be you well assured, this alliance shall not decline me from those more sovereign duties I owe my master, or those other faiths I owe my other friends." Some expressions of courtesy are then followed by this remarkable passage. "*It is enough said amongst honest men; and you may easily believe me; but look you, be secret and true to me, and that no suspicion possess you;*

¹ This lady, whom Wentworth for excellent reasons declined marrying, afterwards married George Goring, son of the earl of Norwich. This was the lord deputy's management. Some eight or nine months after he writes to the earl of Carlisle: — "Young Mr. Goring is gone to travel, having run himself out 8000*l.*, which he purposeth to redeem by his frugality abroad; unless my lord of Cork can be induced to put to his helping hand, which I have undertaken to solicit for him the best I can, and shall do it with all the power and care my credit and wit shall anywise suggest unto me. In the meantime his lady is gone to the bath to put herself in state to be got with child, and when all things are prepared, she is like to want the principal guest. Was ever willing creature so disappointed? In truth it is something ominous, if you mark it, yet all may do well enough, if her father will be persuaded, and then if she be not as well done to as any of her kin, Mr. Goring loseth a friend of me for ever. You may say now, if you will, I put a shrewd task upon a young man, there being no better stuff to work upon; but it is the more charity in us that wish it, and the most of all in him that shall perform it *en bon et gentil conseil.*" Such, I may remark, is the (to him unusual) tone of levity, which he seldom failed to employ in writing to this earl of Carlisle, whose wife, the famous countess, had secretly become his mistress. This earl died in 1596. See also Strafford Papers, vol. ii. p. 119.

which else in time may turn to both our disadvantages. For God's sake my lord, let me again press your departure for Ireland. And let me have 2000*l.* of my entertainment, sent me over with all possible speed; for I have entered fondly enough on a purchase here of 14,000*l.* and the want of that would very foully disappoint me." It is clear to me in this, that Wentworth had resolved, from the first, to watch Mountnorris narrowly, and, on the earliest intimation of any possible renewal of his old treacheries, to crush him and them for ever.

Lady Mountnorris would possibly be startled in hearing from her lord, that the sorrowing widower of the lady Arabella was already speaking of the negotiation of another marriage. The entire truth would have startled her still more. Lord Wentworth had at this very time, though a year had not passed since the death of his last wife, whom he appears to have loved with fervent and continuing affection, "married Elizabeth, the daughter of sir Godfrey Rhodes, *privately.*" Such is the statement of sir George Radcliffe.

Since Radcliffe wrote, however, some curious letters relating to this marriage have been discovered in the Thoresby museum. Sir George says that the marriage took place in October. I am now about to quote a letter which bears the date of October in the same year (the 30th), and which goes to prove that, supposing the statement in question correct, Wentworth must have sent the lady off to a distance from himself immediately after the ceremony. Nor is this the only singular circumstance suggested by this letter. Even sir George Radcliffe, probably, did not know all.

"Madam," Wentworth writes, "I have, in little, much to say to you, and in short terms to profess that which I must appear all my life long, or else one of us must be much to blame. But, in truth, I have that confidence in you, and that assurance in myself, as to rest secure the fault will never be made on either side. Well, then; this little and this much, this short and this long, which I aim at, is no more than to give you this

first written testimony, that I am your husband; and that husband of yours, that will ever discharge those duties of love and respect towards you which good women may expect, and are justly due from good men to discharge them, with a hallowed care and continued perseverance in them: and this is not only much, but all which belongs me; and wherein I shall tread out the remainder of life which is left me. More I cannot say, nor perform much more for the present; the rest must dwell in hope until I have made it up in the balance, but I am and must be no other than your loving husband." A postscript¹ closes the letter, referring to some paste for the teeth, which proves that the lady was in London. Wentworth himself was at York, and, it is evident from his letters, had not quitted the county during the whole of that month. The lady's answer to this letter would seem to have been humbly affectionate, and to have conveyed to Wentworth a lowly but fervent expression of thankfulness—for that her new husband had promised not to cast her off as a deserted mistress! His reply (dated about a fortnight after his first letter) is in excellent spirit, and highly characteristic: — "Dear Besse," he begins, with the encouragement of tender words, "your first lines were wellcum unto me, and I will keep them, in regard I take them to be full, as of kindness, so of truth. *It is no presumption for you to write unto me; the fellowship of marriage ought to carry with it more of love and equality than any other apprehension. Soe I desire it may ever be betwixt us, nor shall it break of my parte.* Virtue is the highest value we can set upon ourselves in this world, and the chiefe which others are

¹ "If you will speak to my cousin Radcliffe for the paste I told you on for your teeth, and desire him to speak to Dr. Moore, in my name, for two pots of it, and that the doctor will see it be good, for this last indeed was not so, you may bring me one down, and keep the other yourself." On the back of this letter, the following words are written, in a delicate female hand: — "Tom was borne the 17th of September, being Wednesday, in the morning, betwixt two and three o'clock, and was christened of the 7th of October, 1634." There is another letter of Wentworth's to lady Wentworth, dated from Sligo, in 1635, in the same museum, wherein he sends his blessing to "little Tom." This child died, but Elizabeth Rhodes afterwards bore lord Strafford a girl, who was yet an infant at her father's death.

to esteem us by. That preserved, we become capable of the noblest impressions which can be imparted unto us. You succeed in this family two of the rarest ladies of their time. Equal them in those excellent dispositions of your mind, and you become every ways equally worthy of any thing that they had, or that the rest of the world can give. And be you ever assured to be by me cherished and assisted the best I can, thorow the whole course of my life, wherein I shall be no other to you than I was to them, to wit, your loving husband, Wentworth." Still, however, Wentworth did not acknowledge her publicly; still he kept her, for some time, at a distance; and finally sent her over to Ireland, in the charge of sir George Radcliffe, some time before he himself quitted England. She arrived in Dublin with Radcliffe in January 1633¹, and was not joined by Wentworth till the July of that year, when his lordship at last ventured to acknowledge her.² Laud, upon this, seems to have put some questions to the lord deputy, whose answer may be supposed, from the following passage in the archbishop's rejoinder, to have been made up explanations and apologies, and a concluding hint of advice. "And now, my lord, I heartily wish you and your lady all mutual content that may be; and I did never doubt that you undertook that course but upon mature consideration, and you have been pleased to express to me a very good one, in which God bless you and your posterity, *though I did not write any thing to you as an examiner. For myself, I must needs confess to your lordship my weakness, that having been married to a very troublesome and unquiet wife before, I should*

¹ Radcliffe's Essay.

² His friends were instant in their congratulation, and, in a profusion of compliments, sought to intimate to his lordship,—that in this marriage of one so far beneath him in rank and consideration, he had only furnished another proof of his own real and independent greatness. There is something pleasanter in the earl of Leicester's note, who simply regrets that he "had not the good fortune to be one of the throng that crowded to tell you how glad they were that you had passed your journey and landed safely in your government, or (which I conceive a greater occasion of rejoicing with you) that you were happily and healthfully arrived in the arms of a fair and beloved wife." — *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 157.

be so ill advised as now, being about sixty, to go marry another of a more wayward and troublesome generation.”¹ There will not be any further occasion to remark upon the early circumstances of this marriage, which in its subsequent results presented nothing of a striking or unusual description, but I shall here add, for the guidance of the reader in his judgment of these particulars of Wentworth’s conduct, some few considerations which in justice ought not to be omitted.

Lord Wentworth was a man of intrigue, and the mention of this is not to be avoided in such a view of the bearings of his conduct and character as it has been here attempted, for the first time, to convey. It is at all times a delicate matter to touch upon this portion of men’s histories, partly from the nature of the subject, and partly from a kind of soreness which the community feel upon it, owing to the inconsistencies between their opinions and practices, and to certain strange perplexities at the heart of those inconsistencies, which it remains for some bolder and more philosophical generation even to discuss. Meantime it is pretty generally understood, that fidelity to the marriage bed is not apt to be most prevalent where leisure and luxury most abound; and, for the same reason, there is a tendency in the richer classes to look upon the licences they take, and to talk of them with one another, and so by a thousand means to increase and perpetuate the tendency,—of which the rest of society have little conception, unless it be, indeed, among the extremely poor. For similar effects result from being either above or below a dependence upon other people’s opinions. When it was publicly brought out, therefore, that Wentworth, as well as gayer men of the court, had had his “levities,” as the grave lord chancellor Clarendon calls them,—it naturally told against him with the more serious part of the nation; not, however, without some recoil, in the opinions of candid observers, against the ingenuousness of those who told it,—because the latter, as men moving

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 125.

in the same ranks themselves, or on the borders of them, must have known the licence secretly prevailing, and probably partook of it far more than was supposed. Lady Carlisle, one of the favourites of Wentworth, subsequently became the mistress of Pym himself. Lord Clarendon, backed with the more avowed toleration, or, rather, impudent unfeelingness, which took place in the subsequent reign, not only makes use of the term just quoted in speaking of intrigue, but ventures, with a sort of pick-thank chuckle of old good-humour, to confess that, in his youth, he conducted himself in these matters much as others did, though with a wariness proportionate to his understanding. "*Caute*," says he, in the quotation popular at the time, and used by Wentworth himself, "*si non caste*."

We are also to take into consideration, that if the court of Charles the First had more sentiment and reserve than that of his heartless son, it was far from being so superior to courts in general in this respect, as the solemn shadow which attends his image with posterity naturally enough leads people to conclude. The better taste of the poetry-and-picture-loving monarch did but refine, and throw a veil over, the grosser habits of the court of his father James. Pleasure was a Silenus in the court of James. In that of Charles the Second, it was a vulgar satyr. Under Charles the First, it was still of the breed, but it was a god Pan, and the muses piped among his nymphs.

Far from wondering, therefore, that Wentworth, notwithstanding the gravity of his bearing and the solemn violence of his ambition, allowed himself to indulge in the fashionable licence of the times, it was to be expected that he would do so, not only from the self-indulgence natural to his will in all things, but from the love of power itself, and that he might be in no respect behindhand with any grounds which he could furnish himself with, for having the highest possible opinion of his faculties for ascendancy. As nine-tenths of common gallantry is pure vanity, so a like proportion of the

graver offence of deliberate seduction is owing to pure will and the love of power,— the love of obtaining a strong and sovereign sense of an existence not very sensitive, at any price to the existence of another. And thus, without supposing him guilty to that extent, might the common gallantries of the *recherché* and dominant Strafford, be owing greatly to the pure pride of his will, and to that same love of conquest and superiority, which actuated him in his public life.

A greater cause for wonder might be found in the tenderness with which he treated the wives to whom he was unfaithful, and especially the one, this Elizabeth Rhodes, who was comparatively lowly in birth. But so mixed a thing is human nature, as at present constituted, that the vices as well as virtues of the man might come into play in this very tenderness, and help to corroborate it; — for, in addition to the noble and kindly thoughts which never ceased to be mixed up with his more violent ones, he would think that the wife of a Wentworth was of necessity a personage to be greatly and tenderly considered on all occasions, — and even his marriage into an obscure family would be reconciled to his pride, by the instinct which leads men of that complexion to think it equally difficult for themselves to be lowered by anything they choose to do, and for the object of their attention not to be elevated by the same process of self-reference.

Nor, — to quit this delicate subject, which I could not but touch on, to assist the reader, with what has gone before, to a proper judgment of facts that are yet to be mentioned, — and which, in truth, contains matter for the profoundest reflection of those who might choose to consider it by itself, — will it be thought extraordinary by such as have at all looked into the nature of their fellow creatures, that a man like Wentworth should have treated his wives tenderly, at the very times at which he was most unfaithful to them. For, whether influenced by love or by awe, they do not appear to have offended him at any time by their

complaints, or even to have taken notice of his conduct ; and they were in truth excellent women, worthy of his best and most real love ; — so as to render it probable that his infidelities were but heats of will and appetite, never, perhaps, occasioning even a diminution of the better affections, or, if they did, ending in the additional tenderness occasioned by remorse. It is a vulgar spirit only that can despise a woman for making no remonstrances ; and a brutal one, that can ill treat her for it. A heart with any nobleness left in it, keeps its sacredest and dearest corner for a kindness so angelical ; and Wentworth's pride had enough sentiment to help his virtues to a due appreciation of the generosity, if it existed ; or to give it the benefit of supposing that it would have done so, in favour of such a man as he, beloved by wives of so sweet a nature.

The lord Wentworth was of a tall and graceful person, though much sickness had early bent an originally sensitive frame, which continued to sink more rapidly in after-life under the weight of greater cares. Habitual pain had increased the dark hue and deep contractions of a brow, formed and used to "threaten and command," and no less effective in enforcing obedience, than the loud and impressive voice that required it. He alludes to this sportively in a letter to the earl of Exeter, wherein he writes, "*This bent and ill-favoured brow of mine was never prosperous in the favour of ladies ; yet did they know, how perfectly I do honour, and how much I value, that excellent and gracious sex, I am persuaded I should become a favourite amongst them ; tush, my lord, tush, there are few of them know how a gentle a garçon I am.*"¹ Happy, as it

¹ *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 178. 180. His letters to lord Exeter and his wife are all very pleasant, and, in their deep sense of personal attentions during illness, touching. "Be not so venturesome on my occasion," he writes, dissuading Exeter from a winter journey to discharge such offices of friendship, "be not so venturesome on my occasion, till this churlish season of the year be past, and the spring well come on. There is old age in years as well as in bodies, January and February are the hoar hairs of the year, and the more quietly, the more within doors we keep them, we with the year grow the sooner young again in the spring." — "To neither of you," he concludes, "with this new year I can wish any thing of new, but that you may tread still round the ancient and beaten paths of that happiness you mutually communicate the one with the other."

is evident, is the opposite consciousness, out of which such pleasant complaining flows ! Whereupon lord Exeter rejoins with justice, in a passage which may serve to redeem his lordship amply from the stupidity that is wont to be charged to him, — “ My lord, I could be angry with you, were you not so far off, for wronging of your bent brow, as you term it in your letter ; for, you had been cursed with a meek brow and an arch of white hair upon it, never to have governed Ireland nor Yorkshire so well as you do, where your lawful commands have gotten you an exact obedience. Content yourself with that brave commanding part of your face, which sheweth gravity without dullness, severity without cruelty, clemency without easiness, and lore without extravagancy.” An ungallant consolation under female displeasure follows : — “ And if it should be any impeachment unto your favour with that sex you so much honour, you should be no loser ; for they that have known them so long as I have done, have found them nothing less than *diablos blancos* ” — which lady Exeter judges fit to dispense with in a postscript : — “ I cannot consent to the opinion of the lord that spake last, neither do I believe that it was his own, but rather vented as a chastisement to my particular. To your lordship all our sex in general are obliged, myself infinitely, who can return you nothing but my perpetual well wishes, with admiration of your virtues, and my heartiest desire that all your imployments and fortunes may be answerable.”¹ Wentworth, indeed, had not needed this assurance, under a remark which May’s happy quotation,

“ Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus Ulysses,
Et tamen aquoreas torsit amore Deas,”

has long since shown to be uncalled for. The intense passion of a Mirabeau or a Strafford will hardly make shipwreck for the want of a “ smooth dispose.”

Wentworth had much wronged his “ bent brow,”

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 211.

and he knew that he had wronged it. It was sufficiently notorious about the court, that whenever it relaxed in favour of any of the court dames, its owner was seldom left to hope in vain. The lady Carlile¹, the lady Carnarvon, the young lady Loftus, were not, if written letters and general rumours deserve trust, the only evidences of this.

Sad indeed were the consequences of Wentworth's casual appearances in the queen's withdrawing room ! "Now if I were a good poet," writes the lord Conway to the lord deputy himself, "I should with Chaucer call upon Melpomene —

To help me to indite
Verses that weepen as I write.

My lady of Carnarvon, being well in the favour and belief of her father and husband, came with her husband to the court, and it was determined she should have been all this year at London, her lodgings in the Cockpit; but my lord Wentworth hath been at court, and in the queen's withdrawing-room was a constant looker upon

¹ This extraordinary woman, whom Dryden called the "Helen of her country," and from whom Waller borrowed a compliment for Venus, ("the bright Carlile of the court of heaven,") played a conspicuous part in the public affairs of the time. "She was thought to be as deeply concerned in the counsels of the court, and afterwards of the parliament, as any in England." After the death of Strafford she had become the mistress of Pym. Yet her passions were not extreme! Sir Toby Mathews lets us into her character:—"She is of too high a mind and dignity, not only to seek, but almost to wish, the friendship of any creature: *they whoso she is pleased to chase, are such as are of the most eminent condition, both for power and employments*; not with any design towards her own particular, either of advantage or curiosity; *but her nature values fortunate persons as virtuous.*" The writer of Waller's life (the countess was aunt to the poet's Sacharissa), in the Biographia Britannica, says that several letters of hers are printed in the "Strafford Papers." This is a mistake, but we find frequent allusions to her throughout the correspondence. If any one wished to know of Wentworth's health, they applied to lady Carlile. "I hope you are now recovered of your gout, which my lady of Carlile told me you had." (ii. 154.) If any one wanted favour at court they wrote to Wentworth to bespeak the interest of lady Carlile. We find even Laud, for a particular purpose, condescending to this:—"I will write to my lady of Carlile," Wentworth writes back, "as your grace appoints me. In good sadness I judge her ladyship very considerable; for she is often in place, and is extremely well skilled how to speak with advantage and spirit for those friends she professeth unto, which will not be many. There is this further in her disposition, she will not seem to be the person she is not, an ingenuity I have always observed and honoured her for." (Papers, vol. ii. p. 150.) And again, out of many I could put before the reader:—"I have writ fully to my lady of Carlile, and am very confident, if it be in her ladyship's power, she will express the esteem she hath your lordship in, to a very great height." (Vol. II. p. 153.)

my lady, as if that only were his business, for which cause, as it is thought, my lord of Carnarvon went home, and my lord chamberlain preached often of honour and truth. One of the sermons, I and my lady Killegrew, or my lady Stafford, which you please, were at ; it lasted from the beginning to the end of supper, the text was, that When supper was ended, and we were where we durst speak, my lady Killegrew swore by G—d, that my lord chamberlain meaneed not any body but her and my lord of Dorset. *But my lady Carnarvon is sent down to her husband, and the night before she went was with her father in his chamber till past twelve, he chiding and she weeping,* and when she will return no man knows ; if it be not till her face do secure their jealousy, she had as good stay for ever. *Some think that my lord Wentworth did this rather to do a despight to her father and husband, than for any great love to her.*"¹

Sir George Radcliffe, indeed, in his Essay, observes on this head : — " He was defamed for incontinence, wherein I have reason to believe that he was exceedingly much wronged. I had occasion of some speech with him about the state of his soul several times, but twice especially, when I verily believe he did lay open unto me the very bottom of his heart. Once was, when he was in a very great affliction upon the death of his second wife ; and then for some days and nights I was very few minutes out of his company : — the other time was at Dublin, on a Good Friday (his birth-day), when he was preparing himself to receive the blessed sacra-

¹ *Stratford Papers*, vol. ii. p. 47. Lord Conway's letters to Wentworth are extremely amusing. They record with particular care the unlucky courtships of Vandike : — " It was thought," he writes on one occasion to the lord-deputy, " that the lord Cottingham should have married my lady Stanhope ; I believe there were intentions in him, but the lady is, as they say, in love with Carey Raleigh. You were so often with sir Anthony Vandike, that you could not but know his gallantries for the love of that lady ; but he is come off with a coglomeria, for he disputed with her about the price of her picture, and sent her word, that if she would not give the price he demanded, he would sell it to another that would give more. This week every one will be at London ; the queen is very weary of Hampton Court, and will be brought to bed at St. James's ; then my lady of Carlile will be a constant courter ; her dog hath lately written a sonnet in her praise, which Harry Percy burnt, or you had now had it."

ment on Easter day following. At both these times, I received such satisfaction, as left no scruple with me at all, but much assurance of his chastity. I knew his ways long and intimately, and though I cannot clear him of all frailties, (for who can justify the most innocent man?) yet I must give him the testimony of conscientiousness in his ways, that he kept himself from gross sins, and endeavoured to approve himself rather unto God than unto man, to be religious inwardly and in truth, rather than outwardly and in shew." What has been quoted from lord Conway's letter, however,—and, were it necessary to my purpose, many letters more, and of stronger meaning, are to be produced,—does not come within Radcliffe's rebuke of the "defamation" employed against Strafford. The only tendency of what sir George says, therefore, is to confirm the charge in its warrantable view, (with which alone I have dwelt upon it,) of illustrating duly private conduct and character. Far different was Pym's great object when, instancing in the house of commons, as Clarendon informs us, "some high and imperious actions done by Strafford in England and Ireland, some proud and over-confident expressions in discourse, and some passionate advices he had given in the most secret councils and debates of the affairs of state, he added some lighter passages of his vanity and amours, that they who were not inflamed with anger and detestation against him for the former, might have less esteem and reverence for his prudence and discretion."

These words may recall me to the actual progress of Strafford's life and thoughts. Prudence and discretion — whatever his great associate of the third parliament might afterwards think right, or just, or necessary to his fatal purposes, to urge — still, so far as they may be associated in a grand project of despotism, eminently characterised every movement of lord Wentworth. The king had now become extremely anxious for his departure, which the winding up of certain private affairs

¹ Clarendon, Hist. of Rebellion, vol. I. p. 137.

alone delayed.¹ On the completion of these he arrived in London, for the purpose of setting sail immediately. Here, however, he was unexpectedly delayed by the necessity of waiting the arrival of a man of war; for so dangerously was the Irish Channel at that time infested with pirates, that the lord deputy could not venture to pass over without convoy. "The winds fall out so contrary," he writes in answer to the secretaries, who, with the king and court, were engaged in a progress, "that the king's ship cannot be gotten as yet forth of Rochester river; but so soon as we can speed it away, and I have notice from captain Plumleigh that he is ready for my transportation, I will not stay an hour; desiring extremely now to be upon the place where I owe his majesty so great an account, as one that am against all non-residents, as well lay as ecclesiastical." Wentworth took care, at the same time, to avail himself of some opportunities offered him by this delay. He completed some pending arrangements; secured finally the close counsel and assistance of Laud²; established a private and direct correspondence

¹ A note from Radcliffe's *Essay* will show that the energetic method and despatch which made the difficulties of the public business sink before him, were no less serviceable in the conduct of his private affairs. "In the managing of his estate and domestical affairs, he used the advice of two friends, Ch. Gr. and G. R., and two servants, Richard Marris his steward, and Peter Man his solicitor. Before every term they met, and Peter Man brought a note of all things to be considered of; which being taken into consideration one by one, and every one's opinion heard, resolution was had and set down in writing, whereof his lordship kept one copy and Peter Man another: at the next meeting, an account was taken of all that was done in pursuance of the former orders, and a new note made of all that rested to be done, with an addition of such things as did arise since the last meeting, and were requisite to be consulted of. His whole accounts were ordered to be made up twice every year, one half ending the 26th of September, the other the 26th of March; *for by that time the former half year's rents were commonly received, or else the arrears were fit to be sought after; it being no advantage either to the tenant or landlord to suffer arrears to run longer.*"

² A few months after his departure, Laud was created archbishop of Canterbury. Wentworth had foreseen this. "One advantage your lordship will have," writes lord Falkland in a somewhat pettish letter, "that I wanted in the time of my government, an archbishop of Canterbury to friend: who is withal a person of especial power to assist you in that part which shall concern the church government; the third and principal member of the kingdom;—for the translation of the late archbishop into heaven, and of the late bishop of London unto the see of Canterbury, makes that no riddle, being so plain." The sort of stipulations for mutual service which passed between the lord deputy and Laud, may be gathered from two out of twenty requests of the latter which reached Dublin castle

with the king himself for the sanction of his more delicate measures ; instructed a gossiping person, a hired retainer of his own, the rev. Mr. Garrard, to furnish him, in monthly packets of news, with all the private scandal and rumours and secret affairs of the court, and of London generally ; and obtained the appointment of his friends Wandesford and Radcliffe to official situations, and to seats in the privy council, reserving them as a sort of select cabinet of his own, with whom every thing might be secretly discussed.¹ These things settled, he now himself became anxious for his departure, which, with some further delay, and not without some personal loss², he at last accomplished.

before Wentworth himself had arrived there. They are equally characteristic of the sincerity and atrocity of the bigotry of Laud. "I humbly pray your lordship, to remember what you have promised me concerning the church at Dublin, which hath for divers years been used for a stable by your predecessors, and to vindicate it to God's service, as you shall there examine and find the merits of the cause." And again :—"There is one Christopher Sands, who, as I am informed, dwells now in Londonderry, and teaches an English school there, and I do much fear he doth many things there to the dishonour of God, and the endangering of many poor souls. For the party is a Jew, and denies both Christ and his Gospel, as I shall be able to prove, if I had him here. I humbly pray your lordship that he may be seized on by authority, and sent over in safe custody, and delivered either to myself or Mr. Mottershead, the register of the high commission, that he may not live there to infect his majesty's subjects." Vol. i. pp. 81, 82.

¹ He found great advantage in this ; and a few months after his arrival in Dublin wrote to the lord treasurer some strenuous advice, suggested by his experience,—"that too many be not taken into counsel on that side, and that your resolutions, whatever they be, be kept secret ; for, believe me, there can be nothing more prejudicial to the good success of those affairs than their being understood abroad by them here. So prejudicial I hold it, indeed, that on my faith there is not a minister on this side that knows any thing I either write or intend, excepting the Master of the Rolls and sir George Radcliffe, for whose assistance in this government, and comfort to myself amidst this generation, I am not able sufficiently to pour forth my humble acknowledgments to his majesty. Sure I were the most solitary man without them, that ever served a king in such a place." Vol. i. pp. 193, 194, &c. Wandesford's office was that of Master of the Rolls.

² "They write me lamentable news forth of Ireland," he informs the secretary in one of his last letters before his departure, "what spoil is done there by the pirates. There is one lyes upon the Welch coast, which it seems is the greatest vessel, commanded by Norman : another in a vessel of some sixty tons, called the Pickpocket of Dover, lyes in sight of Dublin : and another lyes near Youghall :—who do so infest every quarter, as the farmers have already lost in their customs a thousand pounds at least, all trade being at this means at a stand. The pirate that lyes before Dublin took, on the 20th of the last month, a bark of Liverpool, with goods worth 4000l., and amongst them as much linen as cost me 500l. ; and in good finch I fear I have lost my apparel too ; which if it be so, will be as much loss

Lord Wentworth arrived in Dublin in July, 1633. His very arrival, it is justly said, formed a new era in the government of Ireland. He ordered the ceremonial of the British court to be observed within the castle ; a guard, an institution theretofore unknown, was established ; and the proudest of the Irish lords were at once taught to feel the "immense distance" which separated them from the representative of their sovereign.¹

An extract from the lord deputy's first despatch, written about a week after his arrival, and duplicates of which he forwarded at the same time, with his customary zeal, to Cooke and Cottington, is too characteristic to be omitted. "I find them in this place," he writes, "a company of men the most intent upon their own ends that I ever met with, and so as those speed, they consider other things at a very great distance. I take the crown to have been very ill served, and altogether impossible for me to remedy, unless *I be intirely*

more unto me, besides the inconvenience which lights upon me, by being disappointed of my provisions upon the place. By my faith, this is but a cold welcome they bring me withal to that coast, and yet I am glad at least that they escaped my plate; but the fear I had to be thought to linger here unprofitably, forced me to make this venture, where now I wish I had had a little more care of my goods, as well as of my person." Vol. i. p. 90.

¹ See Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 200, 201. In the various orders he procured, he invariably distinguished between the demands of his place, and the courtesies due to his person. In this despatch to Cooke, a number of minute instructions are prayed for, which were instantly granted. Among others, he demanded "instructions to call upon the nobility and others to attend the deputy upon all solemn processions to church, and such like. This is not so well observed as it ought, and they grow generally more negligent than is fit they were, *not truly I trust in any distaste to me, for to my person they give as much respect as I desire from them; but I know not how, in point of greatness, some of them think it too much perchance to be tied to any thing of duty, rather desirous it might be taken as a courtesy.* It would do therefore very well, his majesty were graciously pleased by letter to signify what the attendance is he requires at their hands." These he specifies accordingly, with a vast quantity of laborious and ceremonious regulations, adding, "I confess I might, without more, do these things; but where I may seem to take any thing to myself, I am naturally modest, and should be extreme unwilling to be held supercilious or imperious amongst them; so as I cannot do therein as I both could and would, where I were commanded. Therefore, if these be held duties fit to be paid to his majesty's greatness, which is alike operative, and to be reverenced thorough every part of his dominions, I crave such a direction in these as in the other, that so they may know it to be his pleasure; *other wise I shall be well content they may be spared, having in truth, no such vanity in myself as to be delighted with any of these observances.*"

trusted, and lively assisted and countenanced by his majesty, which I am bold to write unto your lordship once for all, not for any end of my own, but singly for his majesty's service. Besides, what is to be done must be speedily executed, *it being the genius of this country to obey a deputy better upon his entrance than upon his departure from them*; and therefore I promise your lordship I will take my time: for whilst they take me to be a person of much more power with the king, and of stronger abilities in myself, than indeed I have reason either in fact or right to judge myself to be, I shall, it may be, do the king some service; *but if my weakness therein once happen to be discovered amongst them in this kingdom, for the love of God, my lord, let me be taken home*; for I shall but lose the king's affairs, and my own time afterwards; and my unprofitableness in the former, I confess, will grieve me much more than any prejudice which may happen to my own particular by the expense of the latter. The army I conceive to be extremely out of frame; an army rather in name than in deed, whether you consider their numbers, their weapons, or their discipline. And so in truth, not to flatter myself, must I look to find all things else, so as it doth almost affright me at first sight, yet you shall see I will not meanly desert the duties I owe my master and myself: howbeit, without the arm of his majesty's counsel and support, it is impossible for me to go through with this work; and therein I must crave leave to use your lordship only as my mediator, so often as I shall have occasion. I send your lordship the original herein inclosed, of the offer for this next year's contribution, and to the secretary but the copy; judging it might be thought fitter for your lordship to present it to his majesty than the other. You will be pleased to send it me safely back, there being many particulars contained therein; of which I shall be able to make very good use hereafter, if I do not much mistake myself."¹

¹ *Stratford Papers*, vol. i. pp. 96, 97. In the lord treasurer's copy of this

Wentworth, in fact, extraordinary as were the powers with which he had been invested, had still reason for distrust in the weakness and insincerity of the king; and thus sought to impress upon his council, as the first and grand consideration of all, that unless unlimited authority was secured to him, he could, and would, do nothing. One thing, he saw at once, stood in the way of his scheme of government. In the old time, whilst Ireland continued to be governed only as a conquered country, the lord deputy and council had used their discretion in superseding the common law courts, and assuming the decision of private civil causes. During the weaker governments which succeeded, however, this privilege was surrendered; and lord Falkland himself had confirmed the surrender, by an express prohibition. The common law, and its authority, had in consequence gained some little strength at the period of Wentworth's arrival. He had not rested many days in his state chair, before this prohibition was suspended, and the old privilege restored.¹ At all risks, even the most fatal, Wentworth silenced the objectors in both countries. He had visions before him which they dared not to contemplate! Their notion of government was one of sordid scheming: not the less was the sub-

despatch is the following characteristic note on a money transaction in which Weston thought he had been somewhat sharply dealt with:—"Your lordship is pleased to term my last letter you received in Scotland an angry one; but by my troth your lordship, under favour, was mistaken; for I neither was, nor conceived I had cause to be, angry; only I was desirous you might truly understand the state of my accounts, without any other thought at all." Secure of Laud's influence, Wentworth had become careless of Weston.

¹ "I find that my lord Falkland was restrained by proclamation, not to meddle in any cause betwixt party and party, which certainly did lessen his power extremely; I know very well the common lawyers will be passionately against it, who are wont to put such a prejudice upon all other professions, as if none were to be trusted, or capable to administer justice, but themselves; yet how well this suits with monarchy, when they monopolise all to be governed by their peer-books, you in England have a costly experience; and I am sure his majesty's absolute power is not weaker in this kingdom, where hitherto the deputy and council-board have had a stroke with them." Such is an extract from a remarkable despatch to Cooke, which fills nearly ten closely printed folio pages, written soon after the lord deputy's arrival, and filled with reasoning of the most profound and subtle character, in reference to his contemplated schemes and purposes. See Vol. I. p. 154.

ject to be wronged, but the more should the instruments of wrong avoid the responsibility of it ; they saw nothing but their own good, and sought to prevent nothing save their own harm. Wentworth was a despot, but of a different metal. He shrank from no avowal, in shrinking from no wrong ; and, confident of the plans he proposed to execute, felt that the individual injury he inflicted at present would be redeemed and forgotten in the general prosperity of the future. "These lawyers," he writes to the lord marshal, "would monopolise to themselves all judicature, as if no honour or justice could be rightly administered but under one of their bencher's gowns. *I am sure they little understand the unsettled state of this kingdom, that could advise the king to lessen the power of his deputy, indeed his own, until it were brought into that stayed temper of obedience and conformity with that of England, or at least till the benches here were better provided with judges, than God knows as yet they are.* Therefore, if your lordship's judgment approve of my reasons, I beseech you, assist me therein, or rather the king's service, and *I shall be answerable with my head.*"¹ Equal in all his exactions, he had suspected also from the first, that the great complainants against his government would be men of rank ; and now, in further organisation of his powers, procured an order from the king, that none of the nobility, none of the principal officers, "none of those that hath either office or estate here," should presume to quit the kingdom without the licence of the lord deputy.² When his use of this power was afterwards spoken against, he silenced the objectors by a stern and sarcastical reference to one of the graces they had themselves solicited, which seemed indeed to warrant the authority, but had been proposed with a far different purpose, that of preventing men of large fortunes from deserting their estates, and wasting their revenues abroad !

¹ *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 222.

² *Ibid.* p. 302, and see p. 348.

Wentworth called his first privy council. The members of this body had hitherto borne great sway in the government of the island¹, greater, indeed, than the lords deputies themselves,—and they were now, for the first time, to see their authority broken, and their rank and influence set at scorn. Only a select number of them were summoned, a practice usual in England², but in Ireland quite unheard of. But the mortifications reserved for those that had been honoured by a summons, were almost greater than were felt by the absent counsellors! Having assembled at the minute appointed, they were obliged to wait several hours upon the leisure of the deputy, and when he arrived at last, were treated with no particle of the consideration which deliberative duties claim.

Wentworth laid before them a provision for the immediate necessities of government, and more especially for the maintenance of the army. The views of the lord deputy, somewhat more reaching than their own, startled them not a little. Sir Adam Loftus, the son of the lord chancellor, broke a sullen silence by proposing that the voluntary contribution should be continued for another year, and that a parliament should, meantime, be prayed for. "After this followed again a long silence," when the lord deputy called on sir William Parsons, the master of the wards, to deliver his opinion. It was unfavourable. "I was then put to my last refuge," says Wentworth, "which was plainly

¹ The lords justices were the chief leaders of this body. Wentworth, in one of his despatches, had written thus:—"On Thursday seven-night last in the morning, I visited both the justices at their own houses, which albeit not formerly done by other deputies, yet I conceived it was a duty I owed them, being as then but a private person, *as also to show an example to others what would always become them to the supreme governor, whom it should please his majesty to set over them.*" This was a subtle distinction, which their lordships did not afterwards find they had much profited by.

² "I desire," Wentworth had demanded of Cooke, "that the orders set down for the privy council of England might be sent unto us, with this addition, that no man speak covered save the deputy, and that their speech may not be directed one to another, but only to the deputy; as also, taking notice of their negligent meetings upon committees, which, indeed, is passing ill, to command me straitly to cause them to attend those services as in duty they ought."

to declare that there was no necessity which induced me to take them to counsel in this business, *for rather than fail in so necessary a duty to my master, I would undertake, upon the peril of my head, to make the king's army able to subsist, and to provide for itself amongst them without their help.* Howbeit, forth of my respect to themselves I had been persuaded to put this fair occasion into their hands, not only to express their ready affections and duties to his majesty, and so to have in their own particular a share in the honour and thanks of so noble a work ; but also that the proposition of this next contribution might move from the protestants, as it did this year from the papists, and so these no more in show than substance to go before those in their cheerfulness and readiness to serve his majesty ; . . . so as my advice should be unto them, to make an offer under their hands to his majesty of this next year's contribution, with the desire of a parliament, in such sort as is contained in their offer, which herewith I send you enclosed. They are so horribly afraid that the contribution money should be set as an annual charge upon their inheritances, as they would redeem it at any rate, *so as upon the name of a parliament thus proposed, it was something strange to see how instantly they gave consent to this proposition,* with all the cheerfulness possible, and agreed to have the letter drawn, which you have here signed with all their hands."¹

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 28, 29. With characteristic purpose Wentworth subjoins to this despatch a private note to Cooke :— "I should humbly advise that in some part of your next letter you would be pleased to give a touch with your pen concerning sir Adam Loftus, such as I might show him, for he deserves it ; and it will encourage the well affected, and affright the other, when they shall see their actions are rightly understood by his majesty ; and also some good words for the lord chancellor, the lord Cork, the lord of Ormonde, and the lord Mountnorris ; and chiefly to express in your despatch that his majesty will think of their desire for a parliament, and betwixt this and Christmas give them a fair and gracious answer, for the very hope of it will give them great contentment, and make them go on very willingly with their payments." Had none of these men afterwards thwarted him in his great despotic projects, Wentworth would have sought every means of covering them with reward—to which he recognised no stint or measure, when called for by his notion of public service.

A “parliament!” This word, Wentworth knew, would sound harshly in the ear of Charles, who had, by this time, prohibited its very mention in England. But he saw, from what had occurred in the council, in what consideration the mere name was held there; and he saw, moreover, abroad among the nation, a feeling in favour of it, which might, by a bold movement, be even wrested to the purpose of tyranny, but could never, with any safety to that cause, be altogether avoided.

Nor was this aspect of affairs forced upon Wentworth by necessity alone. He had certainly entered Ireland with one paramount object, — that of making his master “the most absolute prince in Christendom,” in so far as regarded that “conquered country.” Wealthier he meant her to become, even in the midst of his exactions; but a slave he had resolved to make her, in so far as the popular control was to be admitted over her government. Yet it has been shown that Wentworth was not a vain man, that he was ever ready to receive the suggestions of the occasion and the time, and it is clear that he entered Ireland by no means assured of being able to carry his purposes into effect by the simple and straightforward machinery of an absolute despotism. The king might see in parliaments nothing but an unnecessary obstruction to the free exercise of his royal will, and might have directed Wentworth to “put them off handsomely,” or otherwise. But Wentworth had impressions of his own, which were not to be so got rid of. These parliaments — which had been only hurriedly glanced at by the averted eye of Charles, on some occasion when he had been forced to “come at the year’s end with his hat in his hand,” and to whom the notion they had conveyed was simply the strengthening his conviction that “such assemblies were of the nature of cats, they ever grew cursed with age” — these parliaments were known thoroughly, and were remembered profoundly, by Wentworth. He had been conversant with the measures, and connected with the

men. He had been the associate of Pym, and had spoken and voted in the same ranks with Eliot. Such an experience might be abhorred, but could not be made light of; and that mighty power, of which he had been the sometime portion, never deserted the mind of Wentworth. He boldly suffered its image to confront him, that he might the better resist its spirit and divert its tendency.

When he arrived in Ireland, therefore, he was quite prepared for the mention of parliament — even for the obligation of granting it. He had not watched human nature superficially, though, unfortunately, he missed of the final knowledge. He would have retained that engine whose wondrous effects he had witnessed, and had even assisted in producing. He would have compelled it to be as efficient in the service of its new master, as of late in withstanding his pleasure. And Wentworth could not but feel, probably, that the foundation for so vast a scheme as his, which was to embody so many far-stretching assumptions, might be not unsafely propped at the first with a little reverence of authority.¹ He would set up a parliament, for instance, which should make itself "eminent to posterity as the very basis and foundation of the greatest happiness and prosperity that ever befell this nation," — by the extraordinary and notable process of being forced to confirm the king's claim to unlimited prerogative! That "way of parliaments," it is evident from many passages in his despatches, he could not but covet. — even while he spoke of leaving "such forms," and betaking himself to "his

¹ On one occasion, it may be remarked, when the attorney-general in England much wished, as he fancied, to strengthen the famous Poynings' act by an abolition of certain incidents attached to it, Wentworth opposed him in an elaborate argument. I quote a remarkable passage from the despatch: — "Truly I am of opinion, that in these matters of form it is the best not to be wiser than those that went before us, but 'stare super vias antiquas.' For better it is to follow the old track in this particular, than question the validity of all the statutes enacted since Poynings' act; for if this which is done in conformity thereto be not sufficient to warrant the summons of this present parliament, then were all those parliaments upon the same grounds unlawfully assembled, and consequently all their acts void; which is a point far better to sleep in peace, than unnecessarily or farther to be awakened." Vol. i. p. 269.

majesty's undoubted privilege." Power, indeed, was the great law of Wentworth's being ; but from all this it may be fairly supposed, that even over the days of his highest and most palmy state lingered the uneasy fear that he might, after all, have mistaken the nature of power, and be doomed as a sacrifice at last to its truer, and grander, and more lasting issues. The fatal danger he frequently challenged — the "at peril of my head," which so often occurs in his despatches — must have unpleasantly betrayed this to his confederates in London.

A parliament then, he acknowledged to himself, must ultimately be summoned in Ireland. But he was cautious in communicating this to the English council. " My opinion as touching a parliament," he writes to Cooke, " I am still gathering for, but shall be very cautious and cunctative in a business of so great weight, naturally distrusting my judgment, and more here, where I am in a sort yet a stranger, than in places where I had been bred, versed, and acquainted in the affairs and with the conditions of men ; so as I shall hardly be ready so soon to deliver myself therein as formerly I writ ; but, God willing, I shall transmit that and my judgment upon many other the chief services of his majesty betwixt this and Christmas. I protest unto you it is never a day I do not beat my brains about them some hours, well foreseeing that the chief success of all my labours will consist much in providently and discreetly choosing and saddening my first ground : for if that chance to be mislaid or left loose, the higher I go the greater and more sudden will be the downcome."¹ Some short time, however, after

¹ *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 134. More genuine and characteristic still was a letter he enclosed by the same messenger to lord Carlisle :— " I am yet ingathering with all possible circumspection my observations, where, upon what, and when, to advise a reformation, and to set myself into the way of it, under God's good blessing, and the conduct of his majesty's wisdom. I shall, before it be long, be ripe to return the fruit of my labours to be examined and considered on that side, and then rightly disposed to set them on work and pursue them here with effect, taking along with me those two great household gods, which ought always to be reverenced in the courts, and sway in the actions, of princes,—honour and justice. These counsels, I confess, are secret ones, *if being one of my chiefest cares to con-*

the date of this letter, he forwarded an elaborate despatch to the secretary for the consideration of the king. In this despatch he insisted very strongly on the wide distinction between English and Irish parliaments which had been planted by the act of Poynings¹, he dwelt on the exigencies of the state, and alleged various powerful reasons in that regard. He claimed also the permission to issue the writs instantly; for if they were deferred till the voluntary contribution should again be about to terminate, they would appear, he argued, to issue from

ceal my intuitions from them all here, as they with the same industry pry into me, and sift every corner for them; and this I do, to the end I might, if it be possible, win from them ingenuous and clear advice, which I am sure never to have, if they once discover how I stand affected; for then it is the genius of this place to soothe the deputy, be he in the right or wrong, till they have insinuated themselves into the fruition of their own ends, and then at after to accuse him, even of those things wherein themselves had a principal share, as well in the counsel as in the execution. God deliver me from this ill sort of men, and give me grace so far to see into them beforehand, as that neither my master's service or myself suffer by them. My lord, I ever weary you when I begin, and judge how I should have troubled you, if the wind had stood otherwise for England." The earl of Strafford had melancholy and disastrous proof of the truth of that account by Wentworth, "of the genius of that place." Some of the men who hunted him most fiercely to the scaffold were men that had been willing instruments of his worst power in Ireland.

¹ The origin of this act has been already adverted to. The popular leaders in England declaimed strongly against Wentworth's interpretation of it. If measures were produced, they maintained, of sufficient weight to satisfy the king and council, the intention of the law was fulfilled; for, they argued, it was never designed to preclude the members of parliament, when once assembled, from introducing such other topics as they might deem expedient for the general welfare. Wentworth, on the other hand, strenuously contended that the express letter of the law was not to be thus evaded; that the previous approbation of the king and council was distinctly required to each proposition; and that no other measures could ever be made the subject of discussion. Surely, however, looking at the origin of the measure, the popular is the just construction. The act was designed, with a beneficial purpose, to lodge the *initiative power* of parliament in the English council, as a protection against the tyranny of lords and deputies. But once establish this power, and the restraint was designed to terminate. Great was the opportunity, however, for Wentworth, and he made the most of it. Poynings' act was his shield. "I am of opinion," he writes to Cooke, "there cannot be any thing invaded, which in reason of state ought to be by his majesty's deputy preserved with a more hallowed care, than Poynings' act, and which I shall never willingly suffer to be touched or blemished, more than my right eye." Vol. i. p. 279. Again, when the English attorney proposed something which the lord deputy feared might work against the stability of the Poynings' bill, Wentworth described it, "A mighty power gotten by the wisdom of former times; and it would be imputed to this age, I fear, as a mighty *lachrym* by those that shall still succeed, should we now be so improvident as to lose it; and, for my own part, so zealous am I for the prerogatives of my master, so infinitely in love with this in especial, that my hand shall never be had as an instrument of so fatal a disservice to the crown, as I judge the remittal or weakening this power would be."

necessity, the parliament would be emboldened to clog their grants with conditions, "and conditions are not to be admitted with any subjects, much less with this people, where your majesty's absolute sovereignty goes much higher than it is taken (perhaps) to be in England." A detailed plan succeeded his many and most emphatic reasons, which unquestionably "clenched" them. The parliament that was to be summoned, Wentworth pledged himself should be divided into two sessions, — the first of which should be exclusively devoted to the subject of supplies ; while the second, which might be held six months afterwards, should be occupied with the confirmation of the "graces," and other national measures, which his majesty so fearfully apprehended. Now the parliament, Wentworth reasoned, would, in its first session, in all probability, grant a sufficient supply for the expenditure of three years, and this once secured, the "graces" might be flung over if necessary. Further, the lord deputy pledged himself that he would procure the return of a nearly equal number of protestants and catholics to the house of commons, in order that both parties, being nearly balanced against each other, might be more easily managed. He proposed, moreover, to obtain qualifications for a sufficient number of military officers, whose situations would render them dependent on propitiating the pleasure of the lord deputy. Then, he urged, with the parties nearly equal, they might easily be kept in an equal condition of restraint and harmlessness, — since the catholics might be privately warned, that if no other provision was made for the maintenance of the army, it would be necessary to levy on them the legal fines ; while all that was necessary to keep the protestants in check, would be to hint to them that, until a regular revenue was established, the king could not let go the voluntary contributions, or irritate the recusants by the enforcement of the penal statutes. "In the higher house," Wentworth concluded, "your majesty will have, I trust, the bishops wholly for you ; the titular lords, rather than come over

themselves, will put their proxies into such safe hands as may be thought of on this side ; and in the rest, your majesty hath such interest, what out of duty to the crown, and obnoxiousness in themselves, as I do not apprehend much, indeed any, difficulty amongst them."

The whole of this extraordinary document is given in an appendix to this volume¹, and the reader is requested to turn to it there.

Let him turn afterwards to the dying words of its author, and sympathise, if he can, with the declaration they conveyed, that "he was so far from being against parliaments, that he did always think parliaments in England to be the happy constitution of the kingdom and nation, and the best means, under God, to make the king and his people happy." In what sense these words were intended, under what dark veil their real object was concealed, the reader may now judge. It is uplifted before him. Those five sections by which Charles is "fully persuaded to condescend to the present calling of a parliament," — the notice of the villainous juggle of the "two sessions," with which the wretched people are to be gulled, — the chuckling mention of the advantage to be taken of "the frightful apprehension which at this time makes their hearts beat," — the complacent provision made for the alternative of their "starting aside," — the king who is to be able, and the minister who is to be ready, "to chastise such forgetfulness," and "justly to punish so great a forfeit as this must needs be judged to be in them," — all these things have long ago been expiated by Wentworth and his master ; but their damning record remains against those, who would proclaim that expiation to have been unjustly demanded.

Overwhelmed by his minister's project, Charles at last yielded.² Still, even while, reluctantly, he consented, he could not see altogether clearly the necessity

¹ See Appendix.

² *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 231.

for "these things being done these ways," and all the assurances of the lord deputy could not prevent Charles bidding him, "as for that hydra, take good heed ; for you know, that here I have found it as well cunning as malicious. It is true, that your grounds are well laid, and, I assure you, that I have a great trust in your care and judgment ; yet my opinion is, that it will not be the worse for my service, though their obstinacy make you to break them, for I fear that they have some ground to demand more than it is fit for me to give. This I would not say, if I had not confidence in your courage and dexterity ; that, in that case, you would set me down there *an example what to do here.*"

Wentworth now issued his writs for a parliament to be instantly held in Dublin, and great joy prevailed among the people. The privy council were summoned, in conformity with the provisions of the law of Poynings, to deliberate on the propositions to be transmitted to England as subjects for discussion in the session. "To gain this first entrance into the work," Wentworth observes, "I thought it fit to intrust it in this manner with a committee, not only to expedite the thing itself the more, but also better to discover how their pulses beat, wherein I conceived they would deliver themselves more freely, than if I had been present amongst them myself." Soon, however, while the lord deputy waited without, he was rejoined by his trusty counsellors Wandesford and Radcliffe, with the news that their associates were restive ; that they were proposing all sorts of popular laws as necessary to conciliate the houses ; and that, as to subsidies, they quite objected to transmitting a bill with blanks to be filled up at discretion, and were of opinion that the amount should be specified, and confined within the strictest limits of necessity. "I not knowing what this might grow to," writes Wentworth, "went instantly unto them, where they were in council, and told them plainly I feared they began at the wrong end, thus consulting

what might please the people in a parliament, when it would better become a privy council to consider what might please the king, and induce him to call one." The imperious deputy next addressed them in a very long and able speech, pressed upon them the necessities of the nation, and the only modes of arresting them. "The king therefore desires," he continued, "this great work may be set on his right foot, settled by parliament as the more beaten path he covets to walk in, *yet not more legal than if done by his prerogative royal, where the ordinary way fails him.* If this people then can be so unwise as to cast off his gracious proposals, and their own safety, it must be done without them; and for myself, as their true friend, I must let them know, that I cannot doubt, but they will altogether save me the trouble, hasten in their advice, and afford their best means for the fulfilling these his so good intentions. That as a faithful servant to my master I shall counsel his majesty to attempt it first by the ordinary means; disappointed there, where he may with so much right expect it, *I could not in a cause so just and necessary deny to appear for him in the head of that army, and there either persuade them fully his majesty had reason on his side, or else think it a great honour to die in the pursuit of that,* wherein both justice and piety had so far convinced my judgment, as not left me wherewithal to make one argument for denying myself unto commands so justly called for and laid upon me." In conclusion, Wentworth gave them a still more characteristic warning:—"Again I did beseech them to look-well about, and be wise by others' harms. They were not ignorant of the misfortunes these meetings had run in England of late years. That therefore they were not to strike their foot upon the same stone of distrust, which had so often broken *them.* For I could tell them, as one that had, it may be held my eyes as open upon those proceedings as another man, that what other accident this mischief might be ascribed unto, there was nothing else that brought it

upon us, but the king's standing justly to have the honour of trust from his people, and an ill-grounded narrow suspicion of theirs, which would not be ever entreated, albeit it stood with all the reason and wisdom in the world. This was that spirit of the air that walked in darkness betwixt them, abusing both, whereon if once one beam of light and truth had happily reflected, it had vanished like smoke before it!"¹

The council could not hold to one of their purposes in the presence of such overawing energy — "whereupon they did, with all cheerfulness, assent unto the council; professed they would entirely conform themselves unto it; acknowledged it was most reasonable this kingdom should defray itself; that they would not offer the pardon, or any other act that might bear the interpretation of a condition; that they would send over no other laws but such as I should like; nay, if I pleased, they would send over the bill of subsidy alone."²

Another obstruction remained, which was as fiercely and immediately disposed of. The council had ventured to suggest to the lord deputy the existence of an ancient custom, whereby the lords of the pale claimed the right of being consulted respecting the projected

¹ See Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 236—241, for the despatch, in which these things are all most happily described. Laud, in a subsequent letter, gives Wentworth some account of the way in which the despatch had been received. I extract one amusing passage: — "The next day, at Greenwich, your despatch to secretary Coke was read to the committee, the king present, order given for us to meet, and for speed of our answer to you. If speed be not made to your mind, I am not in fault, and I hope you will have all things in time. Every body liked your carriage and discourse to the council, but thought it too long, and that too much strength was put upon it; but you may see what it is to be an able speaker. Your old friend says, he had rather see you talk something into the exchequer, but he pleases himself extremely to see how able Brutus is in the senate-house! And wot you what? When we came to this passage in your despatch,

² Again, I did beseech them to look well about, and to be wise by others' harms, they were not ignorant of the misfortunes these meetings had run in England of late years, &c. *Here a good friend of yours interposed, "your men peers magna fui."* I hope you will charge this home upon my lord Cottington; he hath so many Spanish tricks, that I cannot tell how to trust him for any thing but making of legs to fair ladies." — Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 255, 256.

³ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 255. To this Wentworth shrewdly subjoins, — "But I, not thinking it fit it should come so singly from the king without some expression of care for the good government of his people, have caused it to be accompanied, as you will receive it, by this express."

measures, but which Wentworth had at once silenced by "a direct and round answer." Four days after this, however, the earl of Fingal, on behalf of his brother peers, obtained an interview, and, as the deputy described, "very gravely, and in a kind of elaborate way, told me," &c. &c. It is simply necessary to add, that so peremptory and supremely contemptuous was Wentworth's reception of these traditional claims, that the lord Fingal was fain to escape from his presence with a submissive apology.¹

Nothing remained now but the elections. Some difficulty attended them at the first, but one or two resolute measures quelled it.² In July, 1634, an admirably balanced party of catholics and protestants assembled in the Irish house of commons.

With extraordinary pomp and ceremony³ the lord deputy proceeded to meet them. His speech, however, was more startling than his splendour. He began by telling them that two sessions should be held; and that the first, "according to the natural order," should be devoted to the sovereign, and the second to the

¹ See the deputy's own account, *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. pp. 246, 247.

² "The priests and Jesuits here," writes Wentworth, in a very able despatch to Cooke, "are very busy in the election of knights and burgesses for this parliament, call the people to their masses, and there charge them, on pain of excommunication, to give their voice with no protestant. I purpose hereafter to question some of them — being, indeed, a very insufferable thing for them thus to interpose in causes which are purely civil; and of passing ill consequence, to warm and inflame the subjects one against another; and, in the last resort, to bring it to a direct party of protestant and papist, which surely is to be avoided as much as may be, unless our numbers were the greater. A sheriff that, being set on by these fellows, carried himself mutinously in the election of burgesses for this town, we brought into the Castle Chamber upon an *oie tenus*, where, upon what he had set under his hand, we fined him 200*l.*, and 500*l.* more for his contempt in refusing to set his hand to another part of his examination, both at the council board and in open court, disabling him for ever bearing that office hereafter in this city. Which wrought so good an effect, as giving order presently for chusing of a new sheriff, and going on the next day with the election again, the voices were all orderly taken; and the conformable proving the greater number, Catelein, the king's serjeant and recorder of this town, and alderman Barry, a protestant, were chosen; the former whereof I intend to make the speaker, being a very able man for that purpose, and one I assure myself will in all things apply himself to his majesty's service." — *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 250.

³ "It was the greatest civility and splendour," writes Wentworth, "Ireland ever saw. A very gallant nobility and gentry appeared, far above that I expected." Vol. i. p. 276. See a programme in the *Biog. Brit.* vol. vii. pp. 4154, 4155.

subject. "In demanding supplies," he continued, "I only require you to provide for your own safety; I expect, therefore, your contributions will be both liberal and permanent. That is, there must be a standing revenue (mark it well) provided by you to supply and settle the constant payments of the army. For it is far below my great master to come at every year's end, with his hat in his hand, to entreat that you would be pleased to preserve yourselves." Moreover, he told them that, if they expected constant protection without contributing towards it, they looked for more than had ever been the portion of a "conquered kingdom." A bitter warning succeeded this of the fate of English parliaments. "Take heed," he said, in a lesson from his own patriotic experiences, "take heed of private meetings and consults in your chambers, by design and privity beforehand to contrive how to discourse and carry the public affairs when you come into the houses. For, besides that they are in themselves unlawful, and punishable in a grievous measure, I never knew them in all my experience to do any good to the public or to any particular man. I have often known them do much harm to both." With these were mingled some just entreatments. "Divide not nationally betwixt English and Irish. The king makes no distinction betwixt you, but reputes you all without prejudice, and that upon safe and true grounds, I assure myself, his good and faithful subjects. And madness it were in you, then, to raise that wall of separation amongst yourselves. If you should, you know who the old proverb deems likeliest to go to the wall; and, believe me, England will not prove the weakest. But, above all, divide not between the interests of the king and his people, as if there were one being of the king, and another being of his people." He concluded with a distinct statement, that their conduct during the session should be attended, according to its results, with punishment or reward."¹

Not in words only, but equally in the manner of its

¹ *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. pp. 287-290.

delivery, did this speech proclaim the despotic genius of lord Wentworth. Here he resorted to all those arts which, as I have before remarked, are essentially necessary to the success of the despot ; and illustrated, by conduct which to such superficial statesmen as my lord Cottington seemed vain and unnecessary, his profound knowledge of character. " Well," he writes to his more relying friend the archbishop of Canterbury,— " well, spoken it is since, good or bad I cannot tell whether ; but sure, I am not able yet to help myself to a copy of it. But as it was, *I spake it not betwixt my teeth, but so loud and heartily, that I protest unto you I was faint withal at the present, and the worse for it two or three days after. It makes no matter, for this way I was assured they should have sound at least, with how little weight soever it should be attended. And the success was answerable. For had it been low and mildly delivered, I might perchance have gotten from them, it was pretty well,— whereas this way, filling one of their senses with noise, and amusing the rest with earnestness and vehemence, they swear (yet forgive them, they know not what they say !) it was the best spoken they ever heard in their lives. Let Cottington crack me that nut now.*"¹

Secure of his measures, Wentworth demanded at once the enormous grant of six subsidies.² With the view, at the same time, of preventing the possibility of the parties communicating in any way with each other, and so cutting from beneath them every ground of mutual reliance, he introduced the proposition to the house on the second day of their meeting. Ignorant of each other's sentiments — incapable of any thing like a plan of opposition — nothing was left for protestants and

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 973.

² He had great difficulty in inducing the privy council to accede to this. At last he prevailed — " Sir Adam Loftus," as he writes to Cooke, " first beginning the dance, which is now the second time he hath done the king passing good service in this kind." Vol. i. p. 229. Not a single service did lord Wentworth ever receive, without acknowledging it strongly to the king, accompanied by the special naming of those who had so served him.

catholics but to seek to rival each other, as it were, in the devotion of loyalty. The subsidies were voted unconditionally¹, and one voice of profound respect for the lord deputy rose from all.² Not less successful was his management of the convocation of Irish clergy, which had been summoned with parliament, and from whom eight subsidies were ultimately procured. Fortified with his money bills, and just as the session was on the eve of closing, Wentworth turned with contempt to the proceedings of the house of lords.³ Here had

¹ These were the first "settled subsidies" that had ever been paid in Ireland. See Papers, vol. i. p. 307.

² See Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 277—279. One restive member there was, and one only. This was sir Robert Talbot; who, having mentioned Wentworth without a sufficiently awful respect, was instantly expelled, and committed to custody till, on his knees, he begged pardon of the deputy. Commons' Journ. vol. i. p. 116. Leland, vol. iii. p. 18. One case may be added to this of a very different character, in proof that, when Wentworth saw the means of advancing the public service, even at the cost of some personal consideration, he did not care to waive the latter. Among the proclamations he had issued to regulate the parliamentary sitting, he expressly forbade the entrance of any member of either house with his sword, and all obeyed this except the young earl of Ormond, who told the usher of the black rod that he should have no sword of his except through his body. Equally resolute was his answer to the fiery questioning of the lord deputy himself, — quietly producing his majesty's writ, which had called him to parliament "cinctum cum gladio," or "per cincturam gladi." The doubt then occurred to the deputy, of the superior value of young Ormond's service to his enemy; and, after consultation with "his two friends, sir George Radcliffe and Mr. Wandesford," the youth was taken into favour. I am obliged to Mr. Crofton Croker for the favour of this note, which I find in a manuscript translation he has been good enough to lend me, of the Irish portion of the travels of a gasconading coxcomb of a Frenchman, Sieur de la Boullaye-le-Gouz, who honoured the island with his company in 1644, and obliged the world with a most amusing account of his visit. This very Ormond was then viceroy, and the part he had himself played to lord Wentworth was curiously enough rivalled on this occasion by the illustrious Le Gouz. "I followed the train," observes our traveller, in Mr. Croker's happy translation, "in order to enter more freely into the castle, but at the door they ordered me to lay down my sword, which I would not do, saying that, being born of a condition to carry it before the king, I would rather not see the castle than part with my arms. A gentleman in the suite of the viceroy, seeing from my gallant bearing that I was a Frenchman, took me by the hand, saying, 'Strangers shall on this occasion be more favoured than residents,' and he brought me in. I replied to him, that his civility equalled — that of the French towards his nation, when they met them in France!"

³ It was one of the strokes of the lord deputy's policy to aggravate every difference between the two houses. He describes, with singular sarcasm, in one of his despatches, a difference of this sort. "The commons would not confer with the lords, unless they might sit and be covered, as well as their lordships, which the other would by no means admit. For my part I did not lay it very near my heart to agree them, as having heretofore seen the effects which follow when they are in strict understanding, or at difference amongst themselves. I saw plainly that keeping them at distance I did avoid their joining in a petition for the graces." — Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 279.

been opposition — the positive enactment of various salutary regulations — the consideration of grievances ! “ I let them alone,” says one of his despatches, “ till the last day that I came into the house to conclude the session ; but then, being very jealous lest in my time any thing might creep in, and grow upon the king’s prerogative in this tender and important particular¹, I clearly declared they had therein proceeded further than they had warrant for and did beseech their lordships to be better advised for the future, and not to exceed that power which was left them by that law, to wit, — a liberty only to offer by petition to the deputy and council such considerations as they might conceive to be good for the commonwealth, by them to be transmitted for laws, or staid, as to them should seem best ; whereunto they condescended without any opposition.”

The English ministers were rapt in delight and astonishment ! As the time approached, however, for the second session — the session of “ graces ” — a shadow fell over their congratulations. Bucklered with his law of Poynings, the lord deputy bravely reassured them. “ For my own part,” he wrote to Cooke — in the apt simile of an amusement which he was then, in the intervals of his bodily infirmities, ardently given to — “ for my own part, I see not any hazard in it, considering that we have this lyme hound in our power, still to take off when we please ; which is not so easy with your parliaments of England, where sometimes they hunt loose, forth of command, choose and give over their own game as they list themselves.”² Further,

¹ The law of Poynings.

² Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 305. Wentworth preserved through life, notwithstanding his frightful illnesses, the most passionate fondness for hunting and hawking. It is curious to observe, in his accounts of these amusements, an occasional letting out of another object he may have had in them, besides that of personal enjoyment. They gave him an opportunity of display. “ Your defeat of your hawking sport in Wiltshire,” he writes at about this time to Cottington, “ is nothing like to mine ; for (as the man you wot of said by the pigeons) here hath not been a partridge in the memory of man, so as having a passing high flying tarwell I am even setting him down, and to-morrow purpose, with a cast or two, of spar-hawks, to betake myself to fly at blackbirds, ever and anon taking them on the pate with a trunk. It is excellent sport, there being sometimes 300

however, to quiet the apprehensions of Charles, and induce him to suffer the continuance of parliament, Wentworth wrote to the king, telling him that the lord deputy and his council meant to take on themselves the whole responsibility and blame of refusing the obnoxious graces, while the whole merit of granting such as might be granted safely should be given to his majesty.¹

Wentworth redeemed his pledge. It is unnecessary to describe the proceedings of that session at any length. Suffice it to say, that the arts and energy of the first session were redoubled to a greater success in the second. None of the obnoxious graces were accorded. He openly told the parliament that he had refused even to transmit them to England, and asserted his right to do this under the law of Poynings.² For a time, the overbearing energy of his measures forced the members to the silence of fear,—but this was broken by the catholic party, who, having suffered the most grievous wrong in the deception, at last made a feeble show of resistance. Wentworth instantly flung all his influence for the first time among the protestants, and precipitated the catholics into a trial of their strength, unadvised with each other, and utterly unprepared. They were at once defeated. The protestants then claimed their reward, and with an earnestness which was only finally subdued by the lord deputy's threats of worse terrors than those which their wrongs included.³ He had

horse on the field looking upon us, where the lord of Fonsall drops out of doors with a poor falconer or two; and if sir Robert Wind and Gabriel Epesley be gotten along, it is a regale." — Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 162.

¹ See Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 228. And see the despatch to Cooke, vol. i. p. 338.

² See Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 345. *et seqq.*

³ "I roundly and earnestly told them I was very indifferent what resolution the house should fall upon, serving too just and gracious a master ever to fear to be answerable for the success of affairs in contingency, so long as I did sincerely and faithfully endeavour that which I conceived to be for the best. That there were two ends I had my eye on, and the one I would infallibly attain unto,—either a submission of the people to his majesty's just demands, or a just occasion of breach, and either would content the king. The first was undeniably and evidently best for them; but could my master in his goodness consider himself apart from his subjects, or these become so ingrate, I spoke it confidently upon the peril of my head, a breach should be better for him than any supply they could give him in parliament. And therefore I did desire that no man should deceive himself: my master was

nothing left now but to write one of his most pleasing despatches to his royal master, containing "at once a clear and full relation of the issue of this second session, which was, through the wayward frowardness of the popish party, so troublesome upon the first access, but is now recovered and determined by the good assistance of the protestants, with great advantage to your majesty, by those excellent and beneficial laws which, with much tugging, are gotten from them; and all the graces prejudicial to the crown laid also so sound asleep as I am confident they are never to be awakened more."¹ In the next despatch he had the satisfaction of assuring his majesty, that the privilege of impeachment had been wrested both from lords and commons²; in the next, that certain troubles of the convocation had been most emphatically silenced³; and in the next, that his majesty was now, in the person of his humble deputy, the uncontrolled disposer of the destinies of Ireland! "So now I can say," wrote Wentworth at the close of a long despatch, which by the same messenger he had forwarded to Laud, and which contains a remarkable summary of the many important services he had rendered to the crown, — "*so now I can say the king is as absolute here as any prince in the whole world can be, and may be still, if it be not spoiled on that side.* For,

not to seek in his counsels, nor was he a prince that either could or would be denied just things." For the various incidents of this session, see *Stratford Papers*, vol. i. pp. 330, 331, 338, 339, 341, 345, 344, 345, 349, 353.

¹ In the same despatch (which see in *Stratford Papers*, vol. i. p. 341.) Wentworth urges upon the king the necessity of his surrendering matters of patronage and so forth more immediately into his lord deputy's hands: — "The fewer sharers in the service, the fewer there will be to press for rewards, to the lessening of your majesty's profit, and the more entire will the benefit be preserved for your crown; which must, in all these affairs, and shall, be my principal, NAY, INDEED, MY SOLE END."

² See the case of sir Vincent Gookin, *Papers*, vol. i. pp. 349, and 350. Wentworth established by this case, that, under Poyning's law, acts of legislature no less than of legislation, were prohibited, save by consent of the deputy and his council.

³ See *Stratford Papers*, vol. i. pp. 342—345. "I am not ignorant," subjoined Wentworth to this despatch, with a sort of involuntary forecast of an after reckoning, which he threw off in a self-deceiving jest. — "I am not ignorant that my stirring herein will be strangely reported, and censured on that side; and how I shall be able to sustain myself against your Prynnes, Pims, and Bens, with the rest of that generation of odd names and natures, the Lord knows."

'so long as his majesty shall have here a deputy of faith and understanding, and that he be preserved in credit, and independent upon any but the king himself, let it be laid, as a ground, it is the deputy's fault if the king be denied any reasonable desire.'

This was grateful news to Laud. Of all the suggesters of the infamous counsels of Charles, Laud and Wentworth were the most sincere:—Laud, from the intense faith with which he looked forward to the possible supremacy of the ecclesiastical power, and to which he was bent upon going, "thorough," through every obstacle;—Wentworth, from that strong sense, with which birth and education had perverted his genius, of the superior excellence of despotic rule. Their friendship, in consequence, notwithstanding Wentworth's immense superiority in point of intellect¹, continued tolerably firm and steady,—most firm, indeed, considering the nature of their public connection.² The letters which passed between them partook of a more intimate character, in respect of the avowal of ulterior designs, than either of them, probably, chose to avow elsewhere; and though many of their secrets have been effectually concealed from us by their frequent use of cyphers, sufficient remain to shadow forth the extremest purposes of both.

Laud had to regret his position in England, contrasted with that of the Irish deputy. "My lord," he

¹ It is amusing at times to observe the commissions to which Wentworth descended for the gratification of Laud, laughing at them secretly while he gravely discharged them. The archbishop himself, however, had an occasional suspicion of this; and is to be seen at times insinuating, from beneath velvet words, a cat-like claw:—"I perceive you mean to build," he writes to the lord deputy on one occasion, "but as yet your materials are not come in; but if that work do come to me before Christmas, as you promise it shall, I will rifle every corner in it: and you know, my good lord, after all your bragging, how I served you at York, and your church work there: especially I pray provide a good riding house, if there be ever a decayed body of a church to make it in, and then you shall be well fitted, for you know one is made your stable already, if you have not reformed it, of which I did look for an account according to my remembrances before this time." Vol. I. p. 156. Wentworth had forgotten one of his friend's first commissions, which the reader will recollect to have been quoted.

² A curious and instructive essay might be gleaned from the Strafford Papers, on the subject of the friendships of statesmen, or, rather say, of a king's advisers; for the majority of these men did not deserve the name of statesmen.

writes to Wentworth, speaking of the general affairs of church and state, "to speak freely, you may easily promise more in either kind than I can perform: for, as for the church, it is so bound up in the forms of the common law, that it is not possible for me, or for any man, to do that good which he would, or is bound to do. For your lordship sees, no man clearer, that they which have gotten so much power in and over the church will not let go their hold; they have, indeed, fangs with a witness, whatsoever I was once said in a passion to have. *And for the state, indeed, my lord, I am for Thorough; but I see that both thick and thin stays somebody, where I conceive it should not; and it is impossible for me to go thorough alone.* Besides, private ends are such blocks in the public way, and lie so thick, that you may promise what you will, and I must perform what I can, and no more."¹ To this Wentworth answers in a letter which is not preserved. Its import, however, may be gathered from this remarkable passage in Laud's rejoinder:—"I am very glad to read your lordship so resolute, and more to hear you affirm, that the footing of them which go thorough for our master's service is not now upon fee, as it hath been. But you are withal upon so many *ifs*, that by their help you may preserve any man upon ice, be it never so slippery. As, first, *if* the common lawyers may be contained within their ancient and sober bounds; *if* the word *Thorough* be not left out (as I am certain it is); *if* we grow not faint; *if* we ourselves be not in fault; *if* it come not to *peccatum ex te Israel*; *if* others will do their parts as thoroughly as you promise for yourself, and justly conceive of me. Now, I pray, with so many and such *ifs* as these, what may not be done, and in a brave and noble way? But can you tell when these *ifs* will meet, or be brought together?"² Satisfactory is the lord deputy's returning assurance:—"For the *ifs* your lordship is pleased to impute unto me, you shall hereafter have more positive doctrine. I

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 111.

² Ibid. vol. i. p. 152.

*know no reason, then, but you may as well rule the common lawyers in England, as I, poor beagle, do here; and yet that I do, and will do, in all that concerns my master's service, upon the peril of my head. I am confident that the king, being pleased to set himself in the business, is able, by his wisdom and ministers, to carry any just and honourable action thorough all imaginary opposition, for real there can be none; that to start aside for such panic fears, fantastic apparitions, as a Prynne or an Eliot shall set up, were the meanest folly in the whole world; that the debts of the crown taken off, you may govern as you please; and most resolute I am that work may be done, without borrowing any help forth of the king's lodgings, and that is as downright a pecatum ex te Israel as ever was, if all this be not effected with speed and ease."*¹

Resolutely did the lord deputy, as I have shown, realise these principles,—and every new act of despotism which struck terror into Ireland shot comfort to the heart of Laud. "As for my marginal note," exclaims the archbishop, "I see you deciphered it well, and I see you make use of it too,—do so still; thorow and thorow. Oh that I were where I might go so too! but I am shackled between delays and uncertainties. You have a great deal of honour here for your proceedings. *Go on a God's name!*"² And on Wentworth went, stopping at no gratuitous quarrel that had the slightest chance of pleasing the archbishop, even to the demolishing the family tomb of the earl of Cork,—since his grace, among his select ecclesiastical researches, had discovered that the spot occupied by my lord of Cork's family monuments, was precisely that spot upon which the communion-table, to answer the purposes of heaven, ought to stand!³ To minister to their mutual pur-

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 173. Following this passage, in the same letter, is language which it would be a gross outrage of decency to quote. The archbishop appears to have relished it exceedingly.

² Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 329.

³ It would be impossible to notice in detail the various personal contests in which Wentworth engaged, though none of them passed, not even the most trifling, without illustrating, in a remarkable degree, the general

poses, Wentworth also introduced into Ireland the court of high commission, and wrested it to various notable purposes, political as well as religious.

The distinction between him and his confederate during all these proceedings is, nevertheless, to be discerned as widely as the difference of their respective intellects. Wentworth was a despot, but his despotism included many noble, though misguided, purposes. Even with this high commission court, unjustifiable as were the means, he unquestionably effected an increase to the respectability and usefulness of the clergy, and reformed the ecclesiastical courts, — while, at the same time, he never lost sight of the great present object of his government, that it should, "in the way to all these, raise, perhaps, a good revenue to the crown."¹ So, while Laud, in England, was, by a series of horrible persecutions, torturing and mutilating the puritans², the deputy of Ireland could boast with perfect truth that, "since I had the honour to be employed in this place, no hair of any man's head hath been touched for the free exercise of his conscience."³

features of his character. I may refer the reader respecting this affair of the earl of Cork to the Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 156, 200, 216, 222, 237, 238, 379, 450, and to vol. ii. p. 270, and p. 338. Lord Cork hit upon an ingenious plan of thwarting the lord deputy, though it failed in consequence of the superior influence of the latter. He wrote to the lord treasurer Weston, then notoriously jealous of Wentworth, and opposed to him and Laud, "entreating his favour, for that under this monument the bones of a Weston was entombed."

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 187.

² "Mr. Prynne, prisoner in the Tower, who hath got his ears sewed on that they grew again as before to his head, is relapsed into new errors." — *Letter of his newsmonger, Gerrard, to Wentworth, Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 296. Again Prynne's ears expiated those "new errors." Laud's own notice in his diary (Nov. 1639), of the punishment of Leighton, a Scotch divine, the father of bishop Leighton, is more horrible: — "Friday, Nov. 16, part of his sentence was executed upon him in this manner, in the new palace at Westminster, in term time. 1. He was severely whipped before he was put in the pillory. 2. Being set in the pillory, he had one of his ears cut off. 3. One side of his nose slit. 4. Branded on one cheek with a red-hot iron, with the letters S.S. And, on that day sevennight, his sores upon his back, ear, nose, and face being not cured, he was whipped again at the pillory in Cheapside, and there had the remainder of his sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other ear, slitting the other side of the nose, and branding the other cheek." Leighton was released, after ten years' captivity, by the Long Parliament, having by that time lost his sight, his hearing, and the use of his limbs.

³ See his letter to Con, the popish resident, Strafford Papers, vol. ii. p. 112. His correspondences with this person are in all respects curious, and, to

It is also due to Wentworth to observe that, while, at this time, with a view to the furtherance of his general scheme of government, he conceived the vast and unattainable project of reducing all the people of Ireland to a conformity in religion, the measures by which he sought to accomplish that project were, many of them, conceived in the profoundest spirit of a large and wide-reaching policy. Theological strife he knew the useless horrors of,—and he soon discovered, by his “experience of both houses,” that “the root of all disorders in this kingdom is the universal dependence of the popish faction upon jesuits and friars.”¹ He speedily declared his determination to the king himself. “I judge it, without all question, far the greatest service that can be done unto your crowns, on this side, to draw Ireland into a conformity of religion with England; which, indeed, would undoubtedly set your majesty in greater strength and safety, within your own dominions, than any thing now left by the great and happy wisdom of yourself and blessed father unaccomplished, to make us an happy and secure people within ourselves. And yet, this being a work rather to be effected by judgment and degrees than by a giddy zeal and haste, whenever it shall seem good in your wisdom to attempt it (for I am confident it is left as a means whereby to glorify your majesty’s piety to posterity), there will, in the way towards it, many things fall continually in debate and consideration at the board, with which it will be very unfit any of the contrary religion be acquainted.”²

Urged by the English council, he set about the great work. Undisguised was the astonishment of the archbishop, however, at the slow and gradual means proposed by the lord deputy. His grace had fancied that the trouts who had been so completely tickled out of their money³ might be as easily tickled out of their

me, significant of a purpose which his death prevented the open disclosure of.

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. I. pp. 431, 432.

² Ibid. p. 307.

³ “Now lie upon it, if the salmon of that river be bad, yet your loss is

religion, or any thing else. The lord Wentworth thought differently. "It will be ever far forth of my heart," he wrote, in answer to urgent pressings of the question, accompanied with especial requests for the enforcing of fines for nonconformity, "to conceive that a conformity in religion is not above all other things principally to be intended. For, undoubtedly, till we be brought all under one form of divine service, the crown is never safe on this side; but yet the time and circumstances may very well be discoursed, and sure I do not hold this a fit season to disquiet or sting them in this kind; and my reasons are divers. This course alone will never bring them to church, being rather an engine to drain money out of their pockets, than to raise a right belief and faith in their hearts, and so doth not indeed tend to that end it sets forth. The subsidies are now in paying, which were given with an universal alacrity; and very graceful it will be in the king to indulge them otherwise as much as may be till they be paid. It were too much at once to distemper them, by bringing plantations upon them, and disturbing them in the exercise of their religion, so long as it be without scandal. And so, indeed, very inconsiderate, as I conceive, to move in this latter, till that former be fully settled, and by that means the protestant party become by much the stronger, which, in truth, as yet I do not conceive it to be. Lastly, the great work of reformation ought not, in my opinion, to be fallen upon, till all incidents be fully provided for, the army rightly furnished, the forts repaired, money in the coffers, and such a preparation in view as might deter any malevolent licentious spirit to stir up ill humour in opposition to his majesty's pious intendments therein; nor ought the execution of this to proceed by step or degrees, but all rightly dispersed, to be undertaken and gone through withal at once. And certainly in the mean time, the less you call the

the less, since you have so many trouts that may be tickled into anything, or anything out of them." — *Laud to Wentworth, Strafford Papers*, vol. I. p. 322.

conceit of it into their memory, the better it will be for us, and themselves the quieter;—so, as if there were no wiser than I, *the bishops should be privately required to forbear these ecclesiastical censures till they understood further of his majesty's pleasure therein.*¹

Steadily he proceeded, as if already in the far, but not uncertain, distance, he saw the accomplishment of this extraordinary design. He began at what he conceived to be the root of the evil. The churches had fallen to ruin; the church revenues had been cut to pieces by long leases and fraudulent appropriations; and the offices of the church had been given into the hands of the ignorant,—since to such only the abject poverty of her means offered any of the inducements of service.² “Now,” wrote Wentworth to the still precipitate archbishop, “to attempt the reducing of this kingdom to a conformity in religion with the church of England, before the decays of the material churches here be repaired, an able clergy be provided, that so there might be both wherewithal to receive, instruct, and keep the people, *were as a man going to warfare without munition or arms.* It being, therefore, most certain that *this to be wished reformation must first work from ourselves*, I am bold to transmit over to your grace these few propositions, for the better ordering this poor church, which hath thus long laid in the silent dark. The best entrance to the cure will be, clearly to discover the state of the patient, which I find many ways distempered;—an unlearned clergy, which have not so much as the outward form of churchmen to cover themselves with, nor their persons any ways reverenced or protected; the churches unbuilt; the parsonage and vicarage houses utterly ruined; the people untaught thorough the non-

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. ii. p. 49.

² The reader will be startled, probably, to hear the value of some of the Irish bishoprics in that day. “The old bishop of Killanora,” writes Wentworth to Laud, “is dead, and his bishoprick one of those which, when it falls, goes a begging for a new husband, being not worth above fourscore pounds to the last man: yet in the handling of an understanding prelate it might perchance grow to be worth two hundred pounds, but then it will cost money in suit.”—Strafford Papers, vol. ii. p. 172.

residency of the clergy, occasioned by the unlimited shameful numbers of spiritual promotions with cure of souls, which they hold by commendams ; the rites and ceremonies of the church run over without all decency of habit, order, or gravity, in the course of their service ; the possessions of the church, to a great proportion, in lay-hands ; the bishops farming out their jurisdictions to mean and unworthy persons :— " and so, through all the sources of the evil, in a despatch of elaborate learning and profound suggestion, the lord deputy proceeds, enforcing upon the archbishop, finally, that he must surrender his present hopes of any immediate result. " It would be a brainsick zeal and a goodly reformation truly," he exclaims, in a supplementary despatch of yet greater energy and earnestness, " to force a conformity to a religion, whereas yet there is hardly to be found a church to receive, or an able minister to teach, the people. No, no ; let us fit ourselves in these two, and settle his majesty's payments for the army, discharge his debts, and then have with them and spare not ! I believe the hottest will not set his foot faster or further on than I shall do. In the mean time, I appeal to any equal-minded man, whether they or I be more in the right."

Unparalleled were the confidence and self-possessed resource with which Wentworth's great schemes now ran side by side. At one and the same moment he forced the revenue by which his projected buildings in the church were to be raised, and cleared away the obstructions which still covered the sites he had selected. The decision of ecclesiastical rights was removed by him from the courts of common law to the Castle-chamber ; the earl of Cork was forced to restore an annual revenue of 2000*l.*, which had been originally wrested from the church ; and, understanding that the bishop of Killala had been meddling with underhand bargains to defraud his see, he sent for him to the presence chamber, and told him, with open and bitter severity, that he deserved to have his surplice pulled over his ears, and to be turned out of the church

on a stipend of four nobles a year!¹ His usual success followed these measures ; lands and tithes came pouring into his hands ; and he issued a commission for the repair of churches, and won for it a ready obedience.²

In the midst of his labours, Wentworth turned aside, for a moment, to prefer a personal suit to the king. Consideration in the eyes of those over whom he held so strict and stern a hand, was beyond all things valuable to him. It was, indeed, the very materiel of his scheme of government. He appears therefore to have felt at this time, that some sudden and great promotion from the king to himself would give his government an exaltation in the eyes of that "wild and rude people," of infinite importance to its security. His claims upon the king were immeasurable, as his services had been admitted to be. He wrote to him, to solicit an earldom. "The ambition," he said, "which moves me powerfully to serve your majesty, as my obligations are above those that preceded in this employment, suggests unto me an hope I may be more enabled in these restless desires of mine, if I might, before our meeting again in parliament, receive so great a mark of your favour as to have this family honoured with an earldom. I have chosen therefore with all humbleness to address these lines immediately to yourself, as one utterly purposed to acknowledge all to your princely grace, and without deriving the least of the privity of thanks elsewhere." A characteristic desire closed the letter, that "no other person know hereafter your majesty found it in your wisdom not fit to be done."³ And such was Charles's short-sighted and selfish wisdom ! He refused the request. It was sufficient for his purpose that Wentworth

¹ See the Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 151—156, 171, 383, &c.

² One or two of the most remarkable of the measures he projected incidental to this purpose of conformity, may be mentioned here. The reader must examine Wentworth's various despatches, if he desires to master the knowledge of them all. He took resolute steps to prevent the children of catholics from being sent to foreign convents for their education. He proposed the erection of a vast number of protestant schools throughout Ireland with large endowments and able teachers. He enforced the most rigorous penalties upon non-residence. See Papers, vol. i. p. 316; vol. ii. p. 7.

³ Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 301, 302.

was now indissolubly bound to him, since the personal hatred his measures had already excited in the English popular party precluded the possibility of his return to them. Nor had Wentworth provoked the hatred of the popular party alone. Under his superior tyranny, the lords of petty despotism had been crushed¹, and incapable oppressors had become the lord deputy's fiercest accusers of oppression. To please the king, moreover, he had taken upon himself the refusal of various offices to his more importunate courtiers, careless of the odium he provoked and scorned. To heap upon him any marks of personal favour, under such circumstances, was an act of courage and honesty which the weak monarch did not dare attempt. Such wretched tools as Buckingham were more to his personal liking, though less in the balance of his treasury! "I desire you not to think," he wrote, after refusing the lord deputy's suit, "that I am displeased with the asking, though for the present I grant it not. For, I acknowledge that noble minds are always accompanied with lawful ambitions. And be confident that your services have moved me more than it is possible for any eloquence or importunity to do. So that your letter was not the first proposer of putting marks of favour on you; and I am certain that you will willingly stay my time, now ye

¹ His inquiries into questionable titles and church grants had exploded many a little tyrant, though in this way much private wrong was done. The servants of the English court, however, could never exactly understand his policy in respect of opposition to the aristocracy, and especially his habit of sternly refusing any presents or conciliatory favours from them. I quote a characteristic passage from a despatch of the secretary Windebank.—"Though, while we had the happiness and honour to have your assistance here at the council board, you made many ill faces with your pen (*pardon, I beseech your lordship, the over fete censure of your Fandyking*), and worse oftentimes with your speeches, especially in the business of the lord Falconberg, sir Thomas Gore, Vermuyden, and others, yet I understand you make worse there in Ireland, and there never appeared a worse face under a cork upon a bottle, than your lordship hath caused some to make in disgorging such church livings as their zeal had eaten up. Another remarkable error of your lordship, which makes much noise here, is that you refuse all presents, for which in one particular you had your reward. *For, it is said, that a servant bringing you a present from his master, and your lordship refusing it, the servant likewise would have none of your reward.* By this your lordship may perceive how circumspect you have reason to be of your ways, considering how many malicious eyes are upon you, and what interpretations they make of your actions."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 161.

know my mind so freely ; that I may do all things
a mi modo."¹

This refusal was sorely felt by Wentworth. Covering their allusion to the king, he threw into his next despatch to Cottington some expressions of uneasy regret. "I spend more here than I have of entertainments from his majesty, I suffer extreamly in my own private at home, I spend my body and spirits with extream toil, I sometimes undergo the misconstructions of those I conceived, should not, would not, have used me so But I am resolved to complain of nothing. I have been something unprosperous, slowly heard, and as coldly answered that way. I will either subsist by the integrity of my own actions, or I will perish."²

The lord deputy's relief was in the measures with which his enterprising genius had surrounded him. I have alluded to his repression of certain turbulences that had arisen in the convocation :—he now, by his personal influence, prevailed with the learned Usher to surrender the ecclesiastical articles he had forwarded to Ireland, and which were any thing but acceptable to Laud ; he forced upon the clergy a series of hateful metropolitan canons ; and, by a series of measures similar in spirit to those which had subdued the parliament, he confounded and subdued the restless parsons.³ In an early despatch, he had to boast of only one dissentient voice from a new and most astounding "protestant uniformity" !

The Irish common lawyers now received some further proofs of his care, with intelligible hints of his prospective schemes. He presented them with the majority of the English statutes that had been passed since the time of Foynings, but exacted from them certain conditions, at the same time, which soon enabled him to describe to the king in the following terms his Irish ministers of justice :— "Not declined to serve other men's unwarrantable purposes by any importunity or application ;

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 332.

² See Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 342—344.

³ Ibid. p. 354.

never in so much power and estimation in the state and with the subject, as now, and yet contained in that due subordination to the crown as is fit ; ministering wholly to uphold the sovereignty ; carrying a direct aspect upon the prerogatives of his majesty, without squinting aside upon the vulgar and vain opinions of the populace."¹

The army next engaged his attention. He supplied them with clothes, with arms, with ammunition ; he redeemed them from licentiousness², and strengthened them in numbers and in discipline. He completed several regiments of foot, collected together some most efficient cavalry, and, in a very short time, astonished the court in England by returns of a richly appointed and well marshalled force. They heard with still greater astonishment that the lord deputy himself could find time to visit the whole army, and to inspect every individual in it ! And he further declared to them, that he held himself ever ready to mount horse at a moment's warning, and lead a troop of his own, raised and accoutred at his own charge, to repress, by a sudden movement, any popular commotion.³ Vainly, however, he strove to communicate energy enough to Charles to procure his seconding some wider schemes projected by him in reference to the army. The army was the key-stone of that vast building which the imagination of Wentworth had already raised in the distance. The army was to hang in potent control over every thing, to be "the great peace-maker betwixt the British and the natives, betwixt the protestant and the papist, and the

¹ *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii. p. 18.

² " Whence it is that the soldier is now welcome in every place, where before they were an abomination to the inhabitants ; that by this means the army in true account may be said to be of double the strength it had been apprehended." — *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii. p. 17.

³ " For myself, I had a dead stock in horses, furniture, and arms for my troop, that stood me in 600*l.*, and all in readiness upon an hour's warning to march. Nor did I this out of vanity, but really in regard I did conceive it became me not to represent so great a majesty meanly in the sight of the people ; that it was of mighty reputation to the service of the crown, when they saw me in such a posture, as that I was upon an hour's warning able to put myself on horseback, and to deliver, in spite of all opposition, a letter in any part of the kingdom ; and lastly, in regard men should see I would not exact so much duty from any private captain as I did myself upon myself, being their general." — *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii. p. 18.

chief securer, under God and his majesty, of the future and past plantations." But Wentworth was foiled, by the indolent envy of his English coadjutors, from realising the great desire he held, "that his majesty breed up and have a seminary of soldiers in some part or other of his dominions."¹

Indolent envy and active opposition notwithstanding,—the general reputation of the lord deputy of Ireland increased daily. "Mr. secretary Cooke," wrote lord Cottington to him, "is so diligent and careful to give your lordship an account of all your dispatches and answers to them, as there is nothing for me to say, but that for ought I can discern every body else is so too. My lord marshal is your own, my lord of Canterbury your chaplain, secretary Windebank your man, the king your favourite, and I your good lord. In earnest you have a mighty stock of opinion amongst us, which must of necessity make you damnable proud, if you take not heed."² The lord treasurer Weston alone, the old propitiator of the king's regards to the quondam supporter of the petition of rights, but now bitterly jealous of Wentworth's friendship with Laud, scarcely cared to conceal his animosity.³ A fatal attack of illness, however, at this time removed Weston; and the only alloy which served to dash the secret satisfaction with which the news of this event was received by Wentworth, was the existence of very decided rumours that the vacant staff would be offered to himself.⁴

¹ *Stratford Papers*, vol. ii. p. 198.

² *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 430.

³ "The truth is, I conceive my lord treasurer sometime before his death wished me no good, being grown extreme jealous of my often writing to my lord of Canterbury; and myself out of a sturdiness of nature not so gently passing by his unkind usage, as a man of a softer and wiser temper might have done; — for, I confess, I did stomach it very much to be so meanly suspected (being as innocent and clear of crime towards him as the day), considering that I had upon my coming from court given him as strong a testimony of my faith and boldness in his affairs, nay, indeed, a stronger, than any other friend he had, durst, or at least would, do for him. So as finding myself thus disappointed of the confidence I had in his professions at our parting, I grew so impatient, as to profess even to himself, I would borrow a being from no man living but my master, and there I would fusten myself as surely as I could. So as by his death it is not altogether improbable, that I am delivered of the heaviest adversary I ever had." — *Wentworth to the Earl of Newcastle, Stratford Papers*, vol. i. p. 411. See also a letter of Laud's, vol. i. p. 329.

⁴ See Garrard's letter, in *Stratford Papers*, vol. i. pp. 388, 389.

I have already touched on the many objections which Wentworth entertained to an office of this sort; and he now sought by every means, and with characteristic energy, to prevent its being offered to him at all. To his friends who wrote to him urging its acceptance, he peremptorily answered; and, at the same time, by the same messenger, forwarded various requests to several of them, that they would take on themselves to intimate in every quarter, as plainly as possible, their knowledge of his objection to it. In further promotion of this object, he practised a very singular piece of deception. His retained gossip, Mr. Garrard—who continued faithfully and regularly, in the absence of a newspaper, to fulfil all the duties of one, and to retail to the deputy all the occurrences and scandal of the court and the city—had given him from time to time most minute accounts of the illness of Weston through its progressive stages, and finally had reported his death.¹ It was Wentworth's policy, however, to convey to the court, that, so indifferent was he in respect of Weston's office, he had never troubled himself to inquire the probable issue of his illness, and, indeed, had never heard of it. As soon, therefore, as an official intimation of the occurrence was sent to him from Cottington, we find him answering thus! — “ My very good lord, I was never more surprised in my life than upon the reading of your last letter; *not having had any notice of my lord treasurer's least indisposition before*. And how it happens I know not, but I am sure, I was never well since almost, and that Monday night last I swooned twice before they could get off my cloathes.”² — And again, assuring lord Newcastle: — “ Yet I protest, I ever wished well to his person, and am heartily sorry for his death, which was signified unto me by my lord Cottington, *before I heard any thing of his sickness, and took me in a manner by surprise.*”³

¹ See Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 243, 374, 387. &c.

² Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 265.

³ Ibid. p. 411. Cottington himself was a candidate for the office, and never forgave Laud his disappointment, which the profits of the

These precautions were successful. Left settled in his government of Ireland, he next sought, by every possible resource, to establish a permanent revenue. In this pursuit he exhausted his industry, his energy, his genius. Under his superintendence, the produce of the customs rose, within four years, from 12,000*l.* a year to 40,000*l.*, and continued to advance rapidly. Nor were the means by which it was accomplished other than just and honourable. He improved the method of collection, protected the coasts, swept the channel and the harbours of pirates, and, in fine,—lifted the commerce and the shipping of Ireland into a rich prosperity, by freeing it from danger. "My humble advice," observes Wentworth, "for the increase of trade was, that his majesty should not suffer any act of hostility to be offered to any merchants or their goods within the channel, which was to be preserved and privileged, as the greatest of his majesty's ports, in the same nature and property as the Venetian state do their Gulf, and the king of Denmark his Sound:—and therefore I humbly besought his majesty and their lordships, that it might accordingly be remembred and provided for, in all future treaties with foreign princes." In completion of this scheme, the lord deputy struggled hard to rescue the trade of Ireland from several absurd restrictions and monopolies; and in this, having partially succeeded, his government left a claim for gratitudo which is remaining still.¹

In resorting to just measures occasionally, however, when they were not found to interfere with his ulterior schemes, Wentworth had taught himself no lesson of

mastership of the records were by no means sufficient to heal over. The treasury was administered by commission for twelve months, when it was placed by Laud, to the astonishment of all who were still unacquainted with the archbishop's designs for the state advancement of the church, in the hands of Juxon, bishop of London. Laud, recording the appointment in his Diary (March, 1638), observes, that "No churchman had it since Henry VII.'s time;" and adds, "Now if the church will not hold themselves up under God, I can do no more."

¹ For the various measures, and the elaborate reasoning with which the lord deputy supported them, see Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 67, 90, 106, 202, 308, 381, 397, 400, 561, 192, 351, 396, 396, 403, 174, 340, 299, &c. &c.; and vol. ii. pp. 18, 198, 137, 20, 83, 135, 42, 151, &c. &c.

refraining from what was unjust. Money was to be had somehow—if justly, well—if not, it was to be had no less. He now, for instance, imposed a licence upon the retail of tobacco, and himself farmed the privilege for an annual rent of 7000*l.*, and, finally, of 12,000*l.* A tax was laid also on brewing, by way of feeler for the introduction of the excise,—an object of mortal hatred with the Irish.

The statutes of wills and uses were introduced, no less beneficial to the crown, and happily more just to the subject. They strengthened the tenure of property, fixed a remedy against fraudulent conveyances, restored widows to their jointures, and heirs to their inheritances. What was vastly more important to Wentworth, they increased the king's fines in the court of wards, by 10,000*l.* a year! A mint, also, was erected in Ireland, in spite of desperate opposition from the officers of the English mint, with the view of remedying the excessive scarcity of coin; workmen were introduced from England, to sink in various parts of the island for saltpetre, which Wentworth fancied might be obtained to commercial purposes; and he made several successful efforts to work the silver mines and marble quarries.¹

Greater projects, too, than these, occupied the mind of the lord deputy. Before he set foot in Ireland², he had conceived the noble scheme of opening a victualling trade between Ireland and Spain. The distrust with

¹ I have already supplied various authorities for these measures, to which I must refer the reader. With one of his packets to the king, Wentworth forwarded "an ingot of silver, of 300 ounces, being the first that ever was got in Ireland;" accompanying it with a proud expression of his hope, that "this kingdom now at length, in these latter ages, may not only fill up the greatness and dominion, but even the coffers and exchequer, of the crown of England. Sure I am, it becomes not this little one that her breasts should ever be dry, nor ought she with a sparing hand to communicate of her strength and wealth there, considering with what mass of treasure and streams of blood she hath been redeemed and preserved by that her elder and more excellent sister. May your majesty's days be as lasting and glorious as the best and purest of metals, and God Almighty prosper and accomplish all your princely thoughts and counsels, be they old or new."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. i. p. 174.

² See *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. pp. 93, 94. That remarkable despatch was written while waiting at Westminster for the ship that was to convey him to Dublin.

which the patriotic party regarded Spain may have influenced him first, as if in defiance, to rise superior to such "vain apprehensions;"—but be that as it might, his despatches vindicate his plan. They show how admirably the commodities and the wants of the respective kingdoms correspond, and how closely reciprocal are their interests. They even supply a statement, drawn up with enormous pains from the information of various commercial agents, of the commodities which each port in Spain could either receive from Ireland, or give back in return. In one matter especially Wentworth saw the source of enormous advantage,—since the great annual fleets to the colonies, which were so often detained in the Spanish harbours for want of provisions, could clearly be supplied far more conveniently and cheaply from Ireland than from any other country in Europe. Contemporaneously with this measure, the lord deputy had resolved to attempt two other projects. "And surely, sir," he wrote to the king, "if we be able to furnish, and go through with this undertaking,—increase the growth and set up the manufactory of hemp and flax in that your kingdom,—I will hope to leave your subjects there in much happier condition than I found them, without the least prejudice to your subjects here. For this is a ground I take with me, *that to serve your majesty compleatly well in Ireland, we must not only endeavour to enrich them, but make sure still to hold them dependant upon the crown, and not able to subsist without us.* Which will be effected, by wholly laying aside the manufacture of wools into cloth or stuff there, and by furnishing them from this kingdom; and then making your majesty sole merchant of all salts on that side:—for thus shall they not only have their cloathing, the improvement of all their native commodities, (which are principally preserved by salt), and their victual itself from hence (strong ties and enforcements upon their allegiance and obedience to your majesty),—but a means found, I trust, much to advance your majesty's revenue upon salt, and to improve your customs. The

wools there grown, and the cloths there worn, thus paying double duties to your crown in both kingdoms ; and the salt outward here, both inward and outward there."¹ In such principles as these, as through the majority of Wentworth's despotic schemes, some good wrestled with the evil. The linen manufacture, for instance, springing out of this monstrous intention, turned out to be a blessing to the island. Having learnt, on his arrival in the country, that no article for export was manufactured there, except a small quantity of coarse woollen yarn, and unwilling, by encouraging this branch, to interfere with the staple of England, he instantly resolved, by introducing the general cultivation of flax, to induce the manufacture of linen. At his own charge and adventure he imported and sowed a quantity of superior flax seed :—the next year, his first crop having outgone his expectation, he expended 1000*l.* on the same venture, erected a vast number of looms, procured workmen from France and Flanders, and at last sent forth a ship to Spain, at his own risk², with the first investment of linen that had ever been exported from Ireland. Sanguine of hopes so well laid, Wentworth then hazarded a prediction which has since been amply realised ! "Very ambitious am I," writes he to sir William Boswell, "to set up a trade of linen-clothing in these parts, which, if God bless, so as it be effected, will, I dare say, be the greatest enriching to this kingdom that ever befel it."³ The other project he had set up along with this, happily fell to the ground for want of encouragement. In proposing to monopolise the sale of salt, without which the Irish could neither carry on their victualling trade, nor cure their ordinary provisions, and which was at that time either manufactured by patentees or imported from abroad, lord Wentworth reckoned on a considerable increase of

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 93, 94.

² See his characteristic letter to the duke of Medina, Strafford Papers, vol. ii. pp. 109, 110.

³ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 473.

revenue, and the reduction of the Irish to a state of complete dependence. The internal manufacture abolished,—it would be next to impossible to smuggle a commodity so bulky and so perishable by sea, and yet, he urged, “again of so absolute necessity, as it cannot possibly stay upon his majesty’s hand, but must be had whether they will or no, and may at all times be raised in price so far forth as his majesty shall judge to stand with reason and honour. Witness the Gabelles of salt in France.”¹ This once accomplished, Wentworth felt he would have in his own hands the disposal of the food and the clothing of the Irish, and he pressed it with all his vehemence. “Holding them,” exclaimed he, “from the manufacture of wool (which, unless otherwise directed, I shall by all means discourage), and then inflicting them to fetch their cloathing from thence, and to take their salt from the king (being that which preserves and gives value to all their native staple commodities), how can they depart from us, without nakedness and beggary? Which in itself is so weighty a consideration as a small profit should not bear it down!” The small profit, however, in consequence of the jealousies of Weston, did bear it down, and the lord deputy was obliged at last to surrender it.

The embarrassments of the Irish treasury had now vanished, no anticipations any longer weakened it, every charge of government was paid to a day,—and, in the fifth year of his power, lord Wentworth announced to the king that the annual revenue would exceed the expenditure by 60,000*l.*

This, then, was being “crowned with the completest success!” For, according to such political reasoners as M. de Lally Tolendal, the prosperity of the exchequer is the true test of the well-being of the state, and as long as a wretched people can be flattered or terrified into “coining their hearts” in sums, the king is ably served, and the minister is borne out in his ex-

¹ *Stratford Papers*, vol. i. pp. 192, 193; and see pp. 182, 333, 346.

actions. Yet Wentworth deserves better advocates ! and it is perhaps due to his fame as a statesman, to keep in mind that we do not view his system in a perfect state, since the ground, as it were, had only been cleared for the building, when death struck down the builder.

Yorkshire, meanwhile, and Wentworth Woodhouse, had not been forgotten by the lord deputy ! If he had been living simply as a private gentleman in Ireland, instead of being the immediate manager and director of schemes which would have overwhelmed the strength of a dozen ordinary men,—he could not have attended with greater minuteness and apparent ease to his private affairs in England. I cannot resist extracting here some passages from an extraordinary letter to his early tutor, Mr. Greenwood, which occasion has already been taken to refer to. It is one of the most singular proofs that could be found any where, of the compatibility of a comprehensive genius with a vigilant attention to the most minute details. From his viceroyalty the lord Wentworth can signify his desire “ that my tenants use their grounds and houses, as honest men and good husbands ought to do, according to their several leases ; that my woods be preserved, and at due seasons felled and sold to the best profit, spring-woods I mean ; that the hedges and fences be preserved ; that the ponds, pheasants, partridges, and parks be preserved, and as much profit made of the herbage of Tankersly park as may be without hurt to the deer ; that fires be kept in the houses at Woodhouse and Tankersly, and that the housekeepers preserve the rooms sweet, and the stuff without spoil, and principally that the houses be kept dry from taking of rain ;”—that “ the keeper of Tankersly must have the more immediate care of the woods belonging to Tankersly, especially those within the park, and to see that the pond-heads there be kept up, and the water to have a large and open passage to run away in the time of flood, and the grates so cleansed and firm as they break not, nor yet choak up, in which cases all the fish will be sure to go away with the flood.” — And

again, that “none of my demains be plowed in any case. I understand in this Richard Marris hath not followed my direction, which indeed, now and then, if a man would never so fain, he would have done. But if upon advice taken with you and Robin Rockley, you find at any time good for the grounds they were broken up, then would I have them plowed for my own use (*for I know right well the profit of those new rift grounds*), taking still care that they be well limed and manured, and so left as fat and full in heart as might be, to which purpose I would have no cost spared, *for I would have the grounds about my houses kept aloft, so as there may be beauty and pleasure communicated even from them to the houses themselves.*” With these desires are conveyed a vast host of minor directions respecting the servants he would have Greenwood reward, promote, confide in, or distrust. Nor does he forget to—“beseech you to cause my new study there which looks into the hall, to be glazed, strong doors and locks to be set upon it; and such boxes being made as are at Woodhouse, which Richard Forster will, upon your direction, give notice for, the evidence may be put into those boxes, and set in that study, where they will be more safe and handsomely kept than where they are now. If you could cause like locks to be made for that study, as are at Woodhouse, so that one key might open the locks in both places, it were much the better, and advising a little with Richard Forster, he might so order the matter as to have them so;”—and to beg that “the red damask bed with stools, canopies, chairs, &c. belonging thereunto, be carefully looked unto.” We learn also, from this omniscient despatch, that the death of his steward, Richard Marris, —“troubles me not so much, albeit in truth I loved him very well, as the sadness and indeed fearfulness of the misfortune, thorough which he was lost, most grievous, God knows, for him, and scandalous to all that have relation to him, amongst the rest, I am sure to have my share. *Nor do I think that he was drowned as you*

write, for then how should one pocket be dry ? But rather that, heavy with drink, he dropped from his horse near the place where his cloak lay, and, so it may be, amazed with the fall, was dragged by the horse, and the girths loosing, left in that wet place, where he was found dead, and where, doubtless for want of company, and in a cold night and lodging, stormed to death. But enough of so woful a subject, which I wish might never be mentioned or remembred again, further than to consider in it the just judgments of God, and to deter us from this swinish vice, and all other which may draw down upon ourselves like punishments." Subjoining this, the course to be pursued with respect to the brother and heir of the deceased is laid down at great length, and in all its possible bearings, coupled with the following characteristic notice : — "I pray you in any case, if it may be, let him be drawn to this by fair and still means ; but if that work not with him, then would I have you let him know, that, until the account be declared betwixt me and his brother, which I am most willing and desirous may be before the next spring fairly examined by auditors indifferently chosen betwixt us, *I will hold the possession both of lands and goods ; that I will assign my debt to the king, and so extend and keep in extent the whole estate, till I be honestly and truly satisfied* ; as also that I will perform that last office in accomplishment of that which I know was his brother's intention, to see all his other creditors justly paid before he meddle with the estate,— but that then at after, I will not be his loss, by the help of God, one farthing. And I pray you, if the first milder way take not (which if there be either honesty or conscience in the man methinks it should), then to proceed roundly the other way, holding all you have, putting the bonds of Darcy Wentworth and Pieter Man in suit upon the land, and keeping all in the state you have already so well settled them, till my coming over." The reverend gentleman had previously been given to understand that,— "as for all my rents, the

course I desire to be held, is thus. A month after every rent day, I would have a time appointed when yourself and Robert Rockley may meet, and all the bailiffs to be appointed to attend you,—there receive their accounts, giving them strict charge to gather what shall be behind, and to bring the remainder and finish their account at Thornhill within a month after. And I beseech you give them no sparing, for I have suffered very much by it; however, I never could perceive my tenants were a groat the better:—besides, when they find they shall be distrained upon, they will observe their day carefully, so as within a rent day or two, this course strictly observed, the rents will come in without any stop." The whole production is, indeed, impressed with the peculiarities of Wentworth's subtle and energetic genius; nor was their reason for Mr. Greenwood to doubt, as he is at the close assured, that the writer "upon a good occasion would not deny his life to him."

So also, burthened with his mighty schemes, the lord deputy found time for every office of private service, of friendship, and of scholarlike amusement. He made his newsman, Mr. Garrard, forward him copies of Dr. Donne's poetry¹, which he was amazingly fond of; gathered antiquities for the king²; vanquished Inigo Jones in a discussion on architecture³; reared a young greyhound among his own children for the little prince of York⁴; corresponded with old friends in Yorkshire⁵; discussed with Vandyke on various marbles;

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 338. &c.

² Ibid. vol. ii. p. 82.

³ Ibid. p. 83.

⁴ The countess of Dorset had preferred the request, to which Wentworth instantly answered—"I did, with all gladness, receive from your ladyship, by this bearer, the first commands it ever pleased our young master to honour me withal; and before Christmas I will not fail to furnish his highness with the finest greyhound this kingdom affords; till then I shall humbly crave his highness's pardon; for, to send any before I may have convenient time, under my own eye, to be sure he is of a safe and gentle disposition, and that I may try him here first, how he shall behave himself amongst my own children, were the greatest indiscretion and boldness in me possible. And albeit, I assure myself your ladyship's care, and other his highness's attendants, would be such, as the dog should do no harm, yet that were no thanks to me."—Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 303.

⁵ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 116.

hunted, hawked¹, and played at the games of primero and mayo. "He played excellently well," says Radcliffe; "and for company sake, in Christmas, and after supper, he would play sometimes; yet he never was much taken with it, nor used it excessively, but as a recreation should be used. His chief recreation was after supper, when, if he had company, which were suitable unto him, that is, honest cheerful men, he would retire into an inner room, and set two or three hours, *taking tobacco and telling stories with great pleasantness and freedom*: and this he used constantly, with all familiarity in private, laying then aside all state and that due respect which in publick he would expect."

Never for a single instant, however, were the public affairs suffered to wait his leisure. They threatened now to demand more than ordinary care, for the king had resolutely thwarted the deputy in his desire to continue the parliament. "My reasons," he wrote, "are grounded upon my experience of them here. They are of the nature of cats, they ever grow curst with age, so that if ye will have good of them, put them off handsomely when they come to any age, for young ones are ever most tractable. . . . Now that we are well, let us content ourselves therewith."² Charles, at the same time, had urged upon his minister the preferable course of following out their plans (which were far more favoured with himself than even a submissive Irish parliament), of increasing the estates of the crown by a search after defective titles. Wentworth, upon this, set resolutely to work. He examined various old records, and discovered that the whole province of Connaught, on the forfeiture of its Irish chieftain, had lapsed, many years ago, to the crown. It had, indeed, even since that time, again been granted away, but the court lawyers now either found flaws in the conveyances or

¹ "In his later days," Radcliffe observes, "he got little time to see his hawks fly, though he always kept good ones."

² Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 363. Wentworth's previous entreaties for a prorogation will be found at p. 353.

made them. It will be recollect that a recognition of the validity of such titles formed one of the obnoxious "graces" which Wentworth had laid to sleep so soundly.

Pledging himself at once to the king, therefore, that he would reduce Connaught to the absolute possession of the crown,—the lord deputy proceeded into the county of Roscommon, summoned a jury composed of "persons of such means as might answer the king a round fine in the Castle-chamber, in case they should prevaricate, and who, in all seeming, even out of that reason, would be more fearful to tread shamefully and impudently aside from the truth, than such as had less, or nothing, to lose,"¹—told them that his present appeal to them was a mere act of courtesy, and, in return for a series of deep and significant threats, received a ready obedience. The same scenes, with the same results, were acted in Mayo and Sligo, and lord Wentworth went on to Galway.

Here he was prepared for opposition. The people, chiefly Roman catholics, were supported by a formidable body of priests, and had the strenuous countenance and assistance of their hereditary lord, the earl of St. Albans and Clanricarde, a nobleman of esteem at the English court. The spirit of Wentworth rose at the prospect, and he prepared the court, in a memorable despatch, for the measures they were to expect from him:—"If it be followed with just severity," he wrote, "this opposition will prove of great use to the crown, as any one thing that hath happened, since this plantation fell in proposition. It shall not only, with a considerable addition of revenue, bring security to this county, which of the whole kingdom most requires it, but make all the succeeding plantations pass with the greatest quietness that can be desired. Whereas if this foward humour be negligently or loosely handled, it will not only blemish the honour and comeliness of that which is effected already, but cut off all hope for the future." He sum-

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. I. p. 442; a despatch in which the entire proceedings are characteristically given.

moned a jury on the same principle as in the preceding counties. They were obstinate in their refusal to obey him. The sheriff who had selected them was instantly fined 1000*l.*; the jurors themselves were cited into the Castle-chamber, and fined 4000*l.* each; and the earl of Clanricarde¹ received a heavy reprimand from the court, and was made to suffer severely. Bitter murmurs were heard in Ireland, and men spoke out more strongly in England. But the deputy knew no fear. "This comfort I have to support me against the malice of this race of sturdy beggars, that howbeit they threaten me with a Felton or a Ravillac, yet my master is pleased graciously to accept of my endeavours, and to say publickly at council-board, the crown of England was never so well served on this side, as since my coming to the government."²

Exasperated, nevertheless, with these signs of opposition, he now thought to silence them effectually by one terrible warning. His knowledge of the character of the vice-treasurer, the lord Mountnorris, has been already shown, and I have quoted the deeply significant intimation which opened their official connection. Mountnorris had long disregarded this, and had, indeed, omitted no opportunity which his place afforded him, of thwarting in every possible way the schemes of Wentworth. A trifling circumstance now gave the latter an occasion of punishment. Severely afflicted with the gout,—for so frightful were his bodily infirmities, that freedom from one complaint seldom failed to be followed by thraldom to another,—the lord deputy sat one day in the presence-chamber, when one of his attendants—a Mr. Annesley, a distant relation of the lord Mountnorris—accidentally dropped a stool upon his foot. "Enraged with the pain whereof," says Clarendon, "his lordship with a small cane struck Annesley. This being merrily spoken of at dinner at the lord chancel-

¹ For the representations made by Wentworth against this nobleman, see Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 451, 479, 492; and vol. ii. pp. 31, 35, 265, 381.

² Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 412; and see p. 372.

lor's table, where the lord Mountnorris was, he said, 'the gentleman had a brother that would not have taken such a blow.'¹ These words were spoken in the month of April. Eaves-droppers reported them to Wentworth, who instantly forwarded a messenger to London to bring back a king's commission for the trial of Mountnorris. It was sent at his request. Not till December, however, was any further step taken, though the interim had been employed in giving security to the lord deputy's purpose.

In December, Mountnorris received a summons to attend a council of war the next morning. Ignorant of the cause of so sudden a movement, he was vainly asking his brother councillors to explain it,—when Wentworth entered, produced the king's commission, charged lord Mountnorris with an attempt to stir up mutiny against himself as general of the army, and ordered the charge to be read. It ran to this effect:—That it having been mentioned at the lord chancellor's table, that Annesley had let a stool fall on the lord deputy's foot, Mountnorris had scornfully and contemptuously said, "Perhaps it was done in revenge of that public affront that my lord deputy did me formerly; but I have a brother who would not have taken such a revenge." In vain the accused fell on his knees, and requested time for consultation; in vain he demanded even a copy of the charge, or permission to retain counsel:—every thing was denied to him; the lord deputy cited two articles of war which rendered him amenable to imprisonment and to death; demanded from the councillors the immediate and summary judgment of a court martial on both the articles; and sternly silenced a proposal which they ventured to submit, of separating the charges. Guilty the accused was to be voted, "of both or of none!" Even lord Moore, one of the councillors—who, with sir R. Loftus, the brother of another coun-

¹ Clarendon, vol. i. p. 174. This statement is borne out by Baillie's letters. Rushworth, on the other hand, gives it as Wentworth's witnessess afterwards swore to it. Collections, vol. iii. p. 187.; and see Nelson's Collections, vol. i. p. 59.

cillor, had proved Wentworth's case — was ordered to resume his seat, and judge the man whom he had accused ! Under the eye of the lord deputy the council then deliberated and voted ; and their sentence condemned Mountnorris to imprisonment, deprived him of all his offices, ignominiously dismissed him from the army, incapacitated him from ever serving again, and, finally, left him to be shot, or beheaded, at the pleasure of the general. Before the whole court lord Wentworth then expressed exultation, — “ the sentence was just and noble, and for his part he would not lose his share of the honour of it ! ” He turned afterwards to the unfortunate Mountnorris ; told him that now, if he chose, he had only to order execution ; but that he would petition for his life, and “ would sooner lose his hand than Mountnorris should lose his head.”

His purpose was to be more effectually answered, in truth, by a contemptuous pardon, and this, from the first, he appears to have designed, trusting to the general ignominy that would be thrown over Mountnorris, to crush any after-attempt he might make against his own power. The remarks which have been already made on other personal oppressions, apply here with still greater force, and to the system which Wentworth had to uphold should the horror and reproach be carried. It is certain that, at the period of this proceeding, lord Clarendon has justly described the issue to which the positions of the parties had brought them : — “ That either the deputy of Ireland must destroy my lord Mountnorris while he continued in his office, or my lord Mountnorris must destroy the deputy as soon as his commission was determined.”¹ Wentworth was not the man to leave this issue in the hands of chance,—nor, at the same time, to blind himself to the results of such

¹ The reader may be referred, in case he desires to pursue this subject further, to the most ample materials of judgment and discrimination as to the character and bearing of the parties. *Strafford Papers*, vol. i. pp. 73, 76, 119, 250, 349, 388, 392, 402, *et seq.* 448, 497, *et seq.* 502, 504, 508, *et seq.* 511, *et seq.* 514, 519; and to vol. ii. pp. 5, 14, *et seq.* and 145. The unfortunate want of an index to the *Strafford Papers* makes these references necessary.

conduct as the necessity had forced upon him. "But if, because I am necessitated to preserve myself from contempt and scorn, and to keep and retain with me a capacity to serve his majesty with that honour becoming the dignity of that place I here by his majesty's favour exercise, therefore I must be taken to be such a rigid Cato Censorius, as should render me almost inhospitable to humane kind;— yet shall not that persuade me to suffer myself to be trodden upon, by men indeed of that savage and insolent nature they would have me believed to be, or to deny unto myself and my own subsistence so natural a motion as is the defence of a man's self."

The wife of Mountnorris was a kinswoman of the lady Arabella Hollis, whose memory Wentworth cherished with such enthusiasm, and "in the name and by the memory of her" hoping that God would so reward him for it upon "the sweet children of her kinswoman," lady Mountnorris, immediately after the sentence, in a deeply pathetic letter, besought Wentworth to take "his heavy hand from off her dear lord."¹ Every writer concurs in stating that this letter was coldly and contemptuously disregarded by the lord deputy, but an extract from one of his despatches may at least serve to throw some doubt over such a statement. "I send you," he writes to secretary Cooke, "here inclosed the sentence of the council of war in the case of the lord Mountnorris. . . . I foresee full well, how I shall be skirmished upon for it on that side: causeless traducing and calumniating of me is a spirit that hath haunted me through the whole course of my life, and now become so ordinary a food, as the sharpness and bitterness of it in good faith distempers not my taste one jot. Finally, as I formerly signed the sentence together with them, so do I most heartily now join in their letters to you, where we all become humble petitioners to his majesty for his life, which was, God knows, so little looked after by me, that howbeit I hold under favour the sentence most just, yet were it left me in

¹ Clarendon's State Papers, vol. i. p. 449.

choice, whether he must lose his head, or I my hand, this should redeem that. His lordship was prisoner in this castle some two days, *but upon his physician's certificate, that the badness of his lodging might prejudice his health, I sent him upon good bond restrained only to his own house, where he is like to remain till I receive his majesty's further pleasure concerning him.*" It is most unlikely that such an extraordinary favour as this had been granted on the application of a physician merely, while the lord deputy had an obvious reason for keeping out of sight the influence of the lady.

Some short time after, Mountnorris, on condition of submitting to Wentworth, and acknowledging the justice of his sentence, received his liberty. Prosecutions, however, had been lodged against him meanwhile in the star-chamber, and he felt himself a lowered and well-nigh beggared man. "At my lord Mountnorris his departure hence," writes the deputy, "he seemed wondrously humbled, as much as Chaucer's friar¹, that would not for him any thing should be dead; so I told him I never wished ill to his estate, nor person, *further than to remove him thence, where he was as well a*

¹ Chaucer and Dr. Donne appear to have been Wentworth's favourite poets. Chaucer indeed, to the court readers of that day, was as Shakespeare in our own. It is clear too, from the frequent use of peculiar expressions in his despatches, that the lord deputy was not unacquainted, and that intimately, with the great dramatist, though he never, as with Chaucer and Donne, quotes connected passages. It is worth subjoining, as an instance out of many, one of Wentworth's sneers at sir Piers Crosby—that "tride Crosby," as he elsewhere calls him. "Since his departure I have neither heard from him, nor of him, more than that he vouchsaefed with his pretty composed looks to give the Gallway agents countenance and courtship before the eyes of all the good people that looked upon them, gracing and ushering them to and from all their appearances before the lords; there is no more to be added in his case but these two verses of old Jeffrey Chaucer—

"No where so busy a man as he ther n'as,
And yet he seemed busier than he was."

When the newsmonger Garrard heard of the affair of Mountnorris, he quotes Dr. Donne, as if to communicate some tender sympathy to his lordship in that way:—"When first I heard the news, which was on St. Stephen's day, and how all men talked of it, it disorder'd me, it brake my sleep, I waked at four in the morning, it made me herd the next day less in company;—not that I believed what was said, but that I had no oracle, no such friend on the sudden to go to, who could give such satisfaction as I desired. Noblest Jord, your letter hath done it; what Dr. Donne writ once is most true, *Sir, more than kisses, letters mingle souls, for thus friends absent speak, &c.*"

trouble as an offence unto me ; that being done (howbeit thorough his own fault with more prejudice to him than I intended) I could wish there were no more debate betwixt us ; and I told him that, if he desired it, I would spare my prosecution against him in the star chamber there." Immediately before this passage occurs, in the same letter, Wentworth had remarked : — " I assure you I have had a churlish winter of this, nor hath the gout been without other attendants that do prognostick no long life for me here below ! Which skills not much. He lives more that virtuously and generously spruds one month, than some other that may chance to dream out some years, and bury himself alive all the while." The life of the lord deputy had, indeed, in the intensity of sensation it had required for its sustainment, covered a larger span of existence than years can measure, and now the term that remained to it was fated to be dashed with almost unceasing anxieties and troubles, more bitter in proportion to the temperament they wrought on.

His anticipations of the enmity that would be provoked against him by the case of Mountnorris, were more than realised. Laud ventured to intimate to him — " I find that, notwithstanding all your great services in Ireland, which are most graciously accepted by the king, you want not them, which whisper, and perhaps speak louder where they think they may, against your proceedings in Ireland, as being over-full of personal prosecutions against men of quality. . . . And this is somewhat loudly spoken by some on the queen's side. . . . I know you have a great deal more resolution in you, than to decline any service due to the king, state, or church, for the barking of discontented persons ; and God forbid but you should : and yet, my lord, if you could find a way to do all these great services and decline these storms, I think it would be excellent well thought on."¹ To this advice succeeded other galling

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 479. Lord Cottington's account was something different : — " You said right, that Mountnorris his business wou'd make a great noise ; for so it hath, amongst ignorant, but especially ill-

announcements. Lord Clanricarde died suddenly, from a broken heart it was said, in consequence of the Galway proceedings; and the death of the sheriff of that county, who had been imprisoned by Wentworth, immediately followed. Both of these deaths were laid at his door. "They might as well," exclaimed the lord deputy, adverturing to the first — "they might as well have imputed unto me for a crime, his being threescore and ten years old!" With cooler satire he put off the fate of the sheriff. "They will lay the charge of Darcy the sheriff's death unto me. My arrows are cruel that wound so mortally! — but *I should be more sorry, by much, the king should lose his fine.*" Still this did not subdue the daily increasing murmurs; one exaggeration begot another; and he resolved at last, by a sudden public appearance in England, to confound his accusers, and, even in their very teeth, to throw for new marks of favour.

Permission having been obtained from the king, Wentworth appeared at the English court in May, 1636. He was received with the highest favour, and so delighted the king with his account of the various measures by which he had consolidated the government of Ireland, that he was entreated by his majesty to repeat the details "at a very full council."—"Howbeit I told him, I feared his majesty might be wearied with the repetition of so long a narrative, being no other than

affected people; but it hath stuck little among the wiser sort, and begins to be blown away amongst the rest." His lordship, in the same letter, communicates to Wentworth a remarkable sequel to the affair. The lord deputy, in order to procure Mountnorris's offices for his favourites (chiefly young Loftus, the husband of a lady who has been before adverted to), had proposed to distribute 6000*l.* as a sort of purchase of them, to the principal English ministers. (Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 508.) The sly old courtier Cottington, however, into whose hands the business fell, hit on a more notable expedient. "When William Rayton first told me," he writes, "of your lordship's intention touching Mountnorris's place for sir Adam Loftus, and the distribution of monies for the effecting thereof, I fell upon the right way, which was, to give the money to him that really could do the business, which was the king himself; and this hath so far prevailed, as by this post your lordship will receive his majesty's letter to that effect; so as there you have your business done without noise." The money happened to be particularly welcome to Charles, who had just been purchasing an estate! See Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 511.

he had formerly heard, and that I desired therefore I might give my account to the lords without his majesty's further expense of time, yet he told me it was worthy to be heard twice, and that he was willing to have it so."¹ No wonder ! A more striking description was never spoken. He detailed all the measures he had accomplished for the church, the army, and the revenue, for manufactures and commerce, for the laws and their administration,— and through every vigorous and well-aimed word shone the author of all those measures ! Wentworth adverted, towards the close of his relation, to "some particulars wherein I have been very undeservedly and bloodily traduced." He mentioned the slanders that had been circulated, proclaiming him "a severe and austere hard-conditioned man, rather indeed a basha of Buda, than the minister of a pious Christian king." His report of what followed is a direct illustration of much that has been advanced in this memoir. "*Howbeit, if I were not much mistaken in myself, it was quite the contrary ; no man could shew wherein I had expressed it in my nature, no friend I had would charge me with it in my private conversation, no creature had found it in the managing of my own private affairs, so as if I stood clear in all these respects, it was to be confessed by any equal mind that it was not any thing within, but the necessity of his majesty's service, which inforced me into a seeming strictness outwardly.*" And that was the reason indeed. For where I found a crown, a church, and a people spoiled, I could not imagine to redeem them from under the pressure with gracious smiles and gentle looks. It would cost warmer water than so ! True it was, that where a dominion was once gotten and settled, it might be stayed and kept where it was by soft and moderate counsels, but where a sovereignty (be it spoken with reverence) was going down the hill, the nature of a man did so easily

¹ See Strafford Papers, vol. i. pp. 15—22. The despatch in which Wentworth again, for the third time, details his remarkable narrative, is addressed to Wandsworth, who, in the meanwhile, was administering the Irish government.

slide into the paths of an uncontroled liberty, as it would not be brought back without strength, nor be forced up the hill again but by vigour and force. And true it was indeed, I knew no other rule to govern by, but by reward and punishment : — and I must profess that where I found a person well and intirely set for the service of my master, I should lay my hand under his foot, and add to his respect and power all I might, and that where I found the contrary, I should not handle him in my arms, or sooth him in his untoward humour, but if he came in my reach, so far as honour and justice would warrant me, I must knock him soundly over the knuckles, but no sooner he become a new man, apply himself as he ought to the government, but I also change my temper, and express my self to him, as unto that other, by all the good offices I could do him. If this be sharpness, if this be severity, I desired to be instructed better by his majesty and their lordships, for in truth it did not seem so to me ; however, if I were once told, that his majesty liked not to be thus served, I would readily conform myself, follow the bent and current of my own disposition, which is to be quiet, not to have debates and disputes with any. Here his majesty interrupted me and said, that was no severity, wished me to go on in that way, for, if I served him otherwise, I should not serve him as he expected from me."

Wentworth left the court for Wentworth Woodhouse, loaded with the applause of the king and his lords of the council, and followed by the aweful gaze of doubting multitudes.

As he passed through York, he was arrested by enthusiastic friends, and with some difficulty escaped them. "I am gotten hither," he writes to Laud, "at last, to a poor house I have, having been this last week almost feasted to death at York. In truth, for any thing I can find, they were not ill-pleased to see me. Sure I am it much contented me to be amongst my old acquaintance, which I would not leave for any other affection I

have, but to that which I both profess and owe to the person of his sacred majesty. Lord ! with what quietness in myself could I live here in comparison of that noise and labour I meet with elsewhere ; and, I protest, put up more crowns in my purse at the year's end too ! But we'll let that pass. For I am not like to enjoy that blessed condition upon earth. And therefore my resolution is set to endure and struggle with it so long as this crazy body will bear it, and finally drop into the silent grave, where both all these (which I now could, as I think, innocently delight myself in) and myself are to be forgotten. And fare them well ! I persuade myself *exuto Lepido* I am able to lay them down very quietly."¹

His rest was extremely short, for he soon re-appeared in York, discharged several of the duties of his presidency, and fell with all his accustomed vigour on the collection of ship-money. That famous tax had recently been levied. The same success waited upon Wentworth's present measures in respect to it, as the capacity and energy which animated all he did almost invariably commanded. In every other county, murmurs, threats, and curses, accompanied the payment,—in Yorkshire, during Wentworth's presence, silence. His letter to the king reads like one of his Irish despatches. " In pursuit of your commands, I have effectually, both in public and private, recommended the justice and necessity of the shipping business, and so clearly shown it to be, not only for the honour of the kingdom in general, but for every man's particular safety, that I am most confident the assessment this next year will be universally and cheerfully answered within this jurisdiction."²

The lord deputy, as the time approached for his

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. ii. p. 25.

² In a subsequent letter Wentworth wrote :—" I forgot in my last humbly to offer my opinion, that in case your majesty find or apprehend any backwardness in the south, it were good the next year's writs for the shipping assessment were hastened first down into these parts, where they are sure to find no opposition, or unwillingness, which example may rather further than hinder in the right way, which others ought to follow elsewhere."

return to his government, unburthened himself of a suit to the king which he now felt concerned him daily more and more. For the second time he entreated from Charles the honour of an earldom. He begged it in refutation of the malicious insinuations of his enemies, to prove that their calumnies were disbelieved, and to strengthen him in the eyes of the Irish. At the same time he wrote to Laud, telling him plainly the use the enemies of the state were making of the king's withholding from his deputy some public mark of his favour, and urging the danger it threatened to his authority and to the public service. Again Wentworth's suit was rejected. Since Charles's last answer, his reasons for refusal had increased every way. His reply was peremptory. "Believe it, the marks of my favours that stop malicious tongues are neither places nor titles, but the little welcome I give to accusers, and the willing ear I give to my servants." The jest with which his majesty's letter closed did not mend the matter. "I will end with a rule that may serve for a statesman, a courtier, or a lover,—never make a defence or apology before you be accused." The lord deputy felt this deeply. "I wish," he wrote to Laud, "thorough the opinion that I stand not full to his majesty's liking in my service in this place, his majesty's affairs may not suffer as well as myself. But fall that as it may, I am resolved never to stir that stone more, dead to me it is to be for ever. Indeed I neither think of it, nor look for it." His friend George Butler he recommended to look for rewards and punishments in the next world; "for in good faith, George, all below are grown wonderous indifferent." Nor did Wentworth scruple to exhibit very broadly to the king the still rankling disappointment. "Out of the truth of my heart," he wrote, "and with that liberty your majesty is pleased to afford me (which shall nevertheless ever retain all the humility, modesty, and secrecy possible), admit me to say, reward well applied advantages the services of kings extreamly much. It being most certain, that not one

man of very many serve their masters for love, but for their own ends and preferments, and that he is in the rank of the best servants, that can be content to serve his master together with himself. Finally, I am most confident, were your majesty purposed but for a while to use the excellent wisdom God hath given you in the constant, right, and quick applying of rewards and punishments, it were a thing most easy for your servants in a very few years, under your conduct and protection, so to settle all your affairs and dominions, as should render you, not only at home but abroad also, the most powerful and considerable king in Christendom."¹

With Laud, Wentworth communicated more freely on this subject, and in one of his more desponding letters suddenly consoles himself with Dr. Donne and Vandyke. "I most humbly thank your lordship for your noble care and counsel tending to the preservation of my health, a free bounty it is of your love towards me, where otherwise of myself I am so wondrous little considerable to any body else. The lady Astrea, the poet tells us, is long since gone to heaven, but under favour I can yet find reward and punishment on earth. Indeed sometimes they are like Doctor Donn's 'anagram of a good face,'² the ornaments missed, a yellow tooth, a red eye, a white lip or so! and seeing that all beauties take not all affections, one man judging that a deformity, which another considers as a perfection or a grace, this methinks convinceth the certain uncertainty of rewards and punishments. Howsoever he is the wisest commonly, the greatest, and happiest man, and shall surely draw the fairest table of his life, that understands with Van-

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. II. p. 41.

² " Marry and love thy Flavia, for she
Hath all things whereby others beauteous be;
For though her eyes be small, her mouth is great;
Though theirs be ivory, yet her teeth be jet;
 &c. &c. &c.
What though her cheeks be yellow, her hair's red;
 * * *
Though all her parts be not in th' usual place,
She hath yet the anagrams of a good face!" Second Elegy.

dike, how to dispose of these shadows, best, to make up his own comeliness and advantage."¹ Whereupon his grace of Canterbury warns the lord deputy from Vandyke and Dr. Donne, into the book of Ecclesiastes.—

"Once for all, if you will but read over the short book of Ecclesiastes, while these thoughts are in you, you will see a better disposition of these things, and the vanity of all their shadows, than is to be found in any anagrams of Dr. Donne's, or any designs of Vandyke. So to the lines there drawn I leave you."²

Disappointed of that public mark of favour he had claimed so justly, but strengthened by private instructions³ from the king which left no bound or limit to his power, lord Wentworth returned to Ireland. He resumed his measures precisely at the point in which he had left them, overawed every effort to disturb the breathless tranquillity which his energy had inspired, and, under his vigilant eye, the infant cultivation, manufactures, and commerce of the country, began to increase and prosper. "While the subject enjoyed security, from the entire suppression of internal insurrections and depredations, the royal revenues, arising from produce and consumption, experienced a rapid increase."⁴ This "security," however, was never felt to be other than that of absolutism, for Wentworth, hand in hand with his most striking financial improvements, carried on his inquiries into defective titles with a terrible rigour. He placed at the king's disposal the entire district of Ormond, and in his Irish exchequer the sum of 15,000*l.*, wrung from the family of the O'Byrnes in Wicklow, to redeem their possessions from a similar award. Successful in every effort he made, he did not care to call into request the new powers he had been entrusted with.

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. ii. p. 158.

² Ibid. p. 160.

³ See his letter to Wandsworth, Strafford Papers, vol. ii. p. 13. *cf. seq.*

⁴ Mr. MacDiarmid, whose summary of Wentworth's financial measures is very able. I have occasionally availed myself of it. See Lives of British Statesmen, vol. ii. pp. 170—181. The despatches of the lord deputy, in the early portion of the second volume of the Strafford Papers, are singularly powerful.

Not a messenger or a letter arrived from England, however, without news that dashed his prosperity and his pride. He saw as much beyond the narrow vision of the English courtiers as his sagacity outreached theirs, and, in the hollow madness of their measures, had already discerned disastrous issues. The ruin they were precipitating, he bitterly knew would involve himself ; yet he had not even the poor consolation of feeling, that the only portion of the king's service that had in it any of the elements of stability, his own government, had a single hearty defender in that English court. Their praises obsequiously waited on his presence alone. Laud, indeed, was still his friend ; but Laud's ecclesiastical administration had by this time well nigh incapacitated its master for any purpose of good. The popular party in England, meanwhile, taking advantage of the occasion, raised a loud and violent voice of clamour against the lord deputy of Ireland. He flung it back, in the hasty self bullying of his will, with a contemptuous scorn¹, — but he knew secretly its power, and in his graver despatches warned the court from leaving him unprotected to its effects : — “ With the disesteem of the governor,” he wrote, “ the government shall impair, if not in the existence, sure in the beauty of it, which is as considerable, as that most men are guided and guide themselves by opinion. So as, if you will have my philosophy in the point, let no prince employ a servant

¹ “ In truth,” he wrote to Laud, “ I still wish (and take it also to be a very charitable one) Mr. Hambden and others to his likeness were well whipt into their right senses ; if that the rod be so used as that it smarts not, I am the more sorry. One good remedy were to send for your chimney-sweeper of Oxford, who will sing you a song made of one Bond, it seems a schoolmaster of the free-school of St. Paul's, London, and withhold show how to jesk, to temper the voice, to guide the hand, to lay on the rod excellently ; sure I am he made me laugh heartily when I was there last ; and the chancellor of the university might with a word fetch up to your lordship at Lambeth, both the person and the poems (for I must tell you there is the secood, if not the third part of the song), and then bring but Mr. Hambden and Bond in place, and it may every way prove a three man's song. But fetch in the nobleman you mention, and then it may chance to prove a very full concert ! As well as I think of Mr. Hambden's abilities, I take his will and peevishness to be full as great, and without diminution to him, judge the other, howbeit not the father of the country (a title some will not stick to give unto them both, to put them if it be possible, the fatter and farther out of their wits), the very *sincinct*, the vertical point of the whole faction.” — *Stratford Papers*, vol. II. p. 158.

longer than he is resolved to have him valued and esteemed by others, thorough those powers he shall manifest to be entrusted with him." Still he saw no symptoms of what he desired, and at last he wrote personally to the king. "Sir," he said, "I take my natural inclinations to be extreamly much more tender and gentle, than the smooth looks and cheeks of your ministers on that side find in their own bosoms, and yet heighten the cry upon me!" But Charles had now the queen's influence in many respects upon him, and the queen was not displeased to hear of the sinking fortunes of Wentworth. Lord Holland, her favourite counsellor, was even heard to insinuate that the lord deputy was subject to occasional touches of madness. This, among the other reports, came to Wentworth's ear. He charged it upon Holland, who denied it, confessing he might have attributed "hypochondriack humours," certainly not madness. Wentworth wrote back to the king :—

"As for the 'hypochondriack humour' his lordship mentions, it is a great word and a courtly phrase; but if I mistake not the English of it, it is to be civilly and silently maddish: and if so, I can assure his lordship, he shall find as little of that in me, as of any other more active heat. But I shall not stir that matter further, only, if it be denied his lordship said I was mad, it were very easy to shew his memory might fail him sometimes. . . . Your majesty may be pleased to excuse this foul writing, being in truth so tormented in the present with the toothach, as troubles my sense more than the mistaken reports of any others shall do." Sad indeed were the bodily infirmities which exasperated these complainings of the lord deputy. The gout, the tooth-ach, the ague, an intermittent pulse, faint sweats and heaviness, and, to crown all, the frightful disorder of the stone, alternately broke his spirits, and warned him "that no long life awaited him here below!"

What still remained to him, he yet resolved to live out bravely. "A frame of wood," he writes to Laud, "I have given order to set up in a park I have in

the county of Wicklow. And, gnash the tooth of these gallants never so hard, I will by God's leave go on with it, that so I may have a place to take my recreation for a month or two in a year, were it for no other reason than to displease them, by keeping myself, if so please God, a little longer in health."¹ Among other reports to his prejudice had been that of "building up to the sky."² We find him afterwards adverting to this : — " I acknowledge, that were myself only considered in what I build, it were not only to excess, but even to folly, having already houses moderate for my condition in Yorkshire : — but his majesty will justify me, that at my last being in England, I acquainted him with a purpose I had to build him a house at the Naas, it being uncomely his majesty should not have one here of his own, capable to lodge him with moderate convenience (which in truth as yet he hath not), in case he might be pleased sometimes hereafter to look upon this kingdom ; and that it was necessary in a manner, for the dignity of this place, and the health of his deputy and family, that there should be one removing house of fresh air, for want whereof, I assure your lordship, I have felt no small inconvenience since my coming hither ; that when it was built, if liked by his majesty, it should be his, paying me as it cost, if disliked, *a suo damno*, I was content to keep it and smart for my folly. His majesty seemed to be pleased with all, whereupon I proceeded, and have in a manner finished it, and so contrived it for the rooms of state, and other accommodations which I have observed in his majesty's houses, as I had been, indeed, stark mad ever to have cast it so for a private family."³

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. ii. p. 105.

² Ibid. p. 107. His expensive repairs of the castle of Dublin had also been reproached to him. But on his first arrival he had certainly alleged a good case of necessity to Cooke : — " This castle is in very great decay. I have been inforced to take down one of the great towers, which was ready to fall, and the rest are so crasy, as we are still in fear part of it might drop down upon our heads." vol. i. p. 131.

³ The remains of this building, which was called Juggarstowne Castle, are visible still, and, I am informed by gentlemen who have seen them, sufficiently indicate its extraordinary grandeur and extent. They cover

Between these two royal residences Wentworth now divided a great portion of his time. His mode of living equalled in magnificence the houses themselves. At his own charge he maintained a retinue of 50 attendants, besides his troop of 100 horse, which he had originally raised and equipped at an expense of 6000*l.*, and kept up at an enormous yearly cost. This style of living, which he took care to bear out in every other respect, he characteristically vindicated to Cottington as "*an expense not of vanity, but of necessity, judging it not to become me, having the great honour to represent his majesty's sacred person, to set it forth, no not in any one circumstance, in a penurious mean manner, before the eyes of a wild and rude people.*"¹ Nor did he scruple to conceal the fact, that his own private fortune had been assisted, in these vast charges, by certain public profits. "It is very true," he writes to Laud, "I have, under the blessing of Almighty God, and the protection of his majesty, 6000*l.* a year good land, which I brought with me into his service; and I have a share for a short term in these customs, which, whilst his majesty's revenue is there increased more than 20,000*l.* by year, proves nevertheless a greater profit to me than ever I dreamt of." When Laud read this passage to Charles, the king observed, impatiently, "but he doth not tell you how much," and plainly intimated that he grudged the minister his share of profit.² Wentworth had few occasions of gratitude to Charles during a life worn out in his service! In respect of these customs, it is not to be doubted that Charles's

several acres. They are close to the road side, about sixteen Irish miles from Dublin, and provoke, even now, from many an unreflecting passer by, a curse upon the memory of "Black Tom." Such is the name by which the Irish peasantry still remember Strafford. When M. Boullaye-le-Gouz visited Ireland, he found this castle in the property and possession of sir George Wentworth, Strafford's brother, and guarded by forty English soldiers.—*Mr. Croker's MS.*

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 128.

² Laud writes:—"I have of late heard some muttering about it in court, but can meet with nothing to fasten on: only it makes me doubt some body hath been nibbling about it." — See Strafford Papers, vol. ii. p. 127.

suspicions were grossly unjust. He would have had more of abstract justice with him in objecting to a different source of his lord deputy's revenue, that of the tobacco monopoly, for, on the latter ground, undoubtedly, Wentworth was open to grave charges, though, even here, the king was the last person from whom with any propriety they could issue.

The lord deputy's private habits have been described. He hawked, he hunted¹, and fished², whenever his infirmities gave him respite. He passed some of his time also among books, and, in one portion at least of these studies, had his thoughts upon a stormy political future. "I wish," writes his friend lord Conway to him, "you had had your fit of the gout in England, lest you should attribute something of the disease to the air of that country. I send you the duke of Rohan's

¹ Wittily he writes to Laud:—"We are in expectance every hour to hear what becomes of us and the lord chancellor—to say the plain truth, whether we shall have a government or no; and to the intent that I might be the better in utrumque paratus, at this present I am playing the Robin Hood, and here in the country of mountains and woods hunting and chasing all the out-lying deer I can light of. But to confess truly, I met with a very shrewd rebuke the other day: for, standing to get a shoot at a buck, I was so damnable bitten with midges, as my face is all mezzed over eversince, itches still as if it were mad. The marks they set will not go off again, I will warrant you, this week. I never felt or saw such in England. Surely they are younger brothers to the muskitoes the Indies brag on so much. I protest, I could even now well find in my heart to play the shrew soundly, and scratch my face in six or seven places."—*Stratford Papers*, vol. ii. p. 173. This allusion to the lord chancellor had reference to a judgment recently given against that dignitary by Wentworth himself, in a suit brought against him by sir John Gifford, on behalf of sir Francis Ruishe, for an increase of portion to the lady who had married young Loftus:—"According to the lord chancellor's own clear agreement with sir Francis Ruishe, father to the lady." These are Wentworth's words. The chancellor refused to submit to the judgment on the ground that the action ought to have been brought in the ordinary courts of law, and that the tribunal before which it was tried was both illegal and partial. Wentworth upon this had resorted to his usual severity, and was now waiting its issue with the king. It may be worth stating, that mistakes have been made with respect to the name of the lady chiefly affected in this case, by Mr. Mac Diarmid and other writers, in consequence of sir John Gifford having brought the original action. She was lady Loftus, not lady Gifford.

² For some accounts of his fishing exploits, see *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 213 &c. Laud appears to have relished the lord deputy's presents of "dried fish" amazingly, and to have been anything but fond of his "hung beef out of Yorkshire." His grace had a shrewd eye to appetite:—"Since you are for both occupations, flesh and fish, I wonder you do not think of powdering or drying some of your Irish venison, and send that over to brag too."

book, ‘*Le parfait Capitaine.*’ *Do not think the gout is an excuse from fighting, for the count Mansfelt had the gout that day he fought the battle of Fleury.*’¹ In the pleasures of the table he indulged little. “He was exceeding temperate,” observes Radcliffe, “in meat, drink, and recreations. He was no whit given to his appetite; though he loved to see good meat at his table, yet he eat very little of it himself: beef or rabbits was his ordinary food, or cold powdered meats, or cheese and apples, and in moderate quantity. He was never drunk in his life, as I have often heard him say; and for so much as I had seen, I had reason to believe him: yet he was not so scrupulous but he would drink healths where he liked his company, and be sociable as any of his society, and yet still within the bounds of temperance. In Ireland, where drinking was grown a disease epidemical, he was more strict publickly, never suffering any health to be drunk at his publick table but the king’s, queen’s, and prince’s, on solemn days. Drunkenness in his servants was, in his esteem, one of the greatest faults.” Throughout his various admirable letters to his young wards, the Saviles, in whose education he took extreme interest always, the hatred of this vice is still more characteristically shown. He returns to the warning again and again, coupling with drunkenness the equal vice of gaming,—the one a “*pursuit not becoming a generous noble heart, which will not brook such starved considerations as the greed of winning,*”—the other, one “*that shall send you, by un-*

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. ii. p. 45. Some of lord Conway’s letters referred to matters not quite so decent, and the lord deputy’s replies gave him no advantage on that score. See Papers, vol. ii. pp. 144—146. Conway’s acquaintance with his intrigues has already received notice, and the following passage from one of Wentworth’s letters to this confidant is not a little significant: — “I desire your judgment of the inclosed, which was written to this your servant the other day, and chancing to open and read it in the presence, I burst out before I got it read, that the standers-by wondered what merry tale it might be that letter told me. But I must conjure you to send it me back, not to trust it forth of your hands, only if you will, I am content you shew it my lord of Northumberland, and my lady of Carlile, lest if it were shown to others they might judge me *Fane*, or something else, of so princely a favour! For less, the least of her commands are not to be taken,—what then may we term these her earnest desires?”

equal staggering paces, to your grave, with confusion of face."¹

No public duty was neglected meanwhile, for, from his country parks and castles, Wentworth in an hour or two could appear in the Dublin presence-chamber. The king sent him every license he required against the lord chancellor Loftus, and that nobleman, for having disputed the judicial functions of the deputy, "that transcendent power of a chancellor," as Wentworth scornfully called him, was deprived of the seals, and committed to prison till he consented to submit to the award and to acknowledge his error.²

But while the king thus secretly authorised these acts of despotism, the English court, no less than the English nation, were known to be objecting to their author. Impatiently he wrote to Laud, demanding at least the charge, something on which to ground an issue—"The humour which offends me," he exclaims, "is not so much anger as scorn, and desire to wrest out from amongst them my charge; for, *as they say, if I might come to fight for my life, it would never trouble me, indeed I should then weigh them all very light,* and be safe under the goodness, wisdom, and justice of my master. Again, howbeit I am resolved of the truth of all this, yet to accuse myself is very uncomely. I love not to put on my armour before there be cause, in regard I never do so, but I find myself the wearier and sorer for it the next morning."

He could get no satisfactory answer to this, for in truth the English court by this time had enough upon its hands. The king meditated a war with Spain, for the recovery of the palatinate, to which he was the

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. i. p. 169, &c. And see an admirable letter at p. 311. of vol. ii.

² This case was brought forward at the impeachment, and was much aggravated by a discovery, which has been before named, in reference to the young lady Loftus. "In the preferring this charge," says Clarendon, "many things of levity, as certain letters of great affection and familiarity from the earl to that lady, which were found in her cabinet after her death, others of passion, were exposed to the public view." (vol. i. p. 175.) Ample details of the entire course of the transaction will be found in referring to the Strafford Papers, vol. ii. p. 67, *et seq.* 82, 100, *et seq.* 172, *et seq.* 179, 196, 205, 227, *et seq.* 239, *et seq.* 258, 341, 369, 375, 389.

rather urged by the queen, since France had already engaged. Fortunately, before taking this step, he was induced to advise with the lord deputy of Ireland. This was the first time Wentworth had ever been consulted on the general affairs of the kingdom, and he instantly forwarded a paper of opposing reasons to the king, so strongly and so ably stated, that the war project was given up.¹ The queen's indifferent feeling to him, it may well be supposed, was not removed by such policy.²

The peace, however, which lord Wentworth so earnestly recommended, was now more fatally broken. The whole Scottish nation rose against Charles, in consequence of Laud's religious innovations. Wentworth was not at first consulted respecting these commotions, but he had thrown out occasional advice in his despatches which was found singularly serviceable.³ He strove as far as possible, by urging strong defensive measures, to prevent an open rupture. "If," he wrote to Charles, "the war were with a foreign enemy, I should like well to have the first blow; but being with your majesty's own natural, howbeit rebellious subjects, it seems to me a tender point to draw blood first; for till it come to that, all hope is not lost of reconciliation; and I would not have them with the least colour impute it to your majesty to have put all to extremity, till their own more than words inforce you to it."⁴

¹ The document will be found in the Strafford Papers, vol. ii. p. 60—64. It is one of the ablest of Wentworth's arguments for his scheme of absolute power. He takes occasion to say in it:—"The opinion delivered by the judges, declaring the lawfulness of the assignment for the shipping, is the greatest service that profession hath done the crown in my time."

² It ought to be stated, to Wentworth's honour, that, though he much desired to have stood well with her majesty, he declined to purchase her favour by acts inconsistent with his own public schemes. See curious evidences of this in Strafford Papers, vol. ii. pp. 221, 222, 257, 329, 425, 495, &c. When she had solicited an army appointment for some young courtier, he wrote an earnest entreaty to her chamberlain, accompanying his reasons for declining the appointment:—"If I may by you understand her majesty's good pleasure, it will be a mighty quietness unto me, for if once these places of command in the army become suits at court, looked upon as preferments and portions for younger children, the honour of this government, and consequently the prosperity of these affairs, are lost." The king himself appears to have made it a personal request of Wentworth, that he should carry himself "with all duty and respect to her majesty." (vol. ii. p. 256.)

³ See vol. ii. pp. 191, 192, 233, 280, 324, &c.

⁴ Strafford Papers, vol. ii. p. 324.

Nor did Wentworth serve Charles at this conjuncture with advice alone, for, by his amazing personal energy, he forced down some opening commotions among the 60,000 Scottish settlers in Ulster, and not only disabled them from joining or assisting their countrymen, but compelled them to abjure the covenant.¹ Nor this alone. He forwarded from Ireland a detachment of troops to garrison Carlisle ; he announced that the army of Ireland was in a state of active recruiting and discipline ; he offered large contributions from himself and his friends towards the necessary expenses of resistance ; and by every faith of loyalty, and bond of friendship and of service, he called on every man in Yorkshire to stir themselves in the royal cause. “ To be lazy lookers on,” he wrote to the lord Lorne, “ to lean to the king behind the curtain, or to whisper forth only our allegiance, will not serve our turn ! much rather ought we to break our shins in emulation who should go soonest and furthest, in assurance and in courage, to uphold the prerogatives and full dominion of the crown,— ever remembering ourselves that nobility is such a grudged and envied piece of monarchy, that all tumultuary force offered to kings doth ever in the second place fall upon the peers, being such motes in the eyes of a giddy multitude, as they never believe themselves clear sighted into their liberty indeed, till these be at least levelled to a parity as the other altogether removed, to give better prospect to their anarchy.”²

The sluggish and irresolute councils of England looked ill beside the movements of the deputy. The king asked a service from him, but the instructions came too late. “ If his majesty’s mind had been known to me in time,” he wrote to Vane, the treasurer of the household, “ I could have as easily secured it against all the covenanters and devils in Scotland, as now walk up and down this chamber. But where trusts

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. ii. pp. 270, 338, 345.

² Ibid. p. 210.

and instructions come too late, there the business is sure to be lost." Openly he now expressed his censure of the royal scheme that had prevailed since the death of Buckingham. "I never was in love with that way of keeping all the affairs of that kingdom of Scotland among those of that nation, but carried indeed as a mystery to all the council of England; a rule but over much kept by our master; which I have told my lord of Portland many and often a time, plainly professing unto him, that I was much afraid that course would at one time or other bring forth ill effects; what those are, we now see and feel at one and the same instant." Finally, when Vane had written in an extremely desponding tone, he rallied him with a noble energy. "It is very true you have reason to think this storm looks very foul and dark towards us, so do also myself, for if the fire should kindle at Raby, I am sure the smoke would give offence to our eye-sight at Woodhouse! but I trust the evening will prove more calm than the morning of this day promises. *Dulcissimum lumen solis esse solet jam jam cadentia.* All here is quiet, nothing colours yet to the contrary. And if I may have the countenance and trust of my master, I hope, in the execution of such commands as his majesty's wisdom and judgment ordain for me, to contain the Scottish here in their due obedience, or if they should stir (our 8000 arms and twenty pieces of cannon arrived, which I trust now will be very shortly) to give them such a heat in their cloaths, as they never had since their coming forth of Scotland! And yet our standing army here is but 1000 horse and 2000 foot, and not fewer of *them* I will warrant you than 150,000, so you see our work is not very easy. The best of it is, the brawn of a lark is better than the carcass of a kite, and the virtue of one loyal subject more than of 1000 traitors. And is not this pretty well, trow you, to begin with?"¹

¹ This letter is dated—"Fairwood Park [the name of his seat in Wicklow], this 16th of April, 1639. I will change it with you, if you will, for Fair Lane."—*Stratford Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 325—326.

No extremity was urged that found Wentworth unprepared. Windebanke hinted the danger he incurred. "I humbly thank you," he answered, "for your friendly and kind wishes to my safety, but if it be the will of God to bring upon us for our sins that fiery trial,—all the respects of this life laid aside, it shall appear more by my actions than words, that I can never think myself too good to die for my gracious master, or favour my skin in the zealous and just prosecution of his commands. *Statutum est semel.*" Another—whom he fancied not unwilling to thwart him, reckoning upon safety from the consequences in the lord deputy's certain destruction—he thus warned:—"Perchance even to those that shall tell you, before their breath I am but as a feather, I shall be found sadder than lead! For let me tell you, I am so confidently set upon the justice of my master, and upon my own truth, as under them and God I shall pass thorough all the factions of court, and heat of my ill-willers, without so much as singeing the least thread of my coat, nor so alone, but to carry my friends along with me." And, in the midst of the storms his measures were raising on all sides round him, he found time and ease enough to amuse himself in tormenting with grave jests a foolish earl of Antrim, whom the king had sent to "assist" him. The despatches he wrote on the subject of the "Antrim negotiations" are positive masterpieces of wit and humour.¹ At the same time he did not hesitate to assure the king, that, but for the safety of Ireland, he would "be most mightily out of countenance, to be found in any other place than at his majesty's side!"

Charles acknowledged these vast services with frequent letters. Wentworth was now his great hope, and he found, at last, that at all risks he must have him in

¹ See the Strafford Papers, vol. ii. pp. 187, 204, 211, 289, *et seq.* 300, *et seq.* 321, *et seq.* 323, 331, 334, 339, 353, 354. It is not too much to say, that, in reading these papers, the memory is called to the Swifts of past days, and the Ponblanques of our own. The poor lord's pretensions are most ludicrously set forth, and in a vein of exquisite pleasantry, but little consistent with the popular notion of Strafford's unbending sternness.

England. He had formerly declined his offered attendance, he now prayed for it. He wished, he said, to consult him respecting the army, "but I have much more," he sorrowfully added, "and indeed too much to desire your counsel and attendance for some time, which I think not fit to express by letter, more than this,—the Scots' covenant begins to spread too far. Yet, for all this, I will not have you take notice that I have sent for you, but pretend some other occasion of business."

Wentworth instantly prepared himself to obey. A short time only he took, to place his government in the hands of Wandesford, and to arrange some of his domestic concerns. His children were his great care. "God bless the young whelps," he said, "and for the old dog there is less matter."¹ Lady Clare, his mother-in-law, had often requested to have the elder girl with her, and Wentworth had as often vainly tried to let her leave his side. His passion was to see them all near him in a group together, as they may yet be seen in the undying colours of Vandyke, from whose canvass, also, as though it had been painted yesterday, the sternly expressive countenance of their father still gazes at posterity. The present was a time, however, when the sad alternative of a separation from himself promised him alleviation even, and he resolved to send both sisters to their grandmother. The letter he despatched on the occasion to the Lady Clare remains, and it is too touching and beautiful to be omitted here. A man so burthened with the world's accusations as Strafford, should be denied none of the advantage which such a document can render to his memory. It is unnecessary to direct attention to its singularly characteristic conclusion:—

" My lord of Clare having writ unto me, your lady-

¹ See various letters in the course of his correspondence, in which the most tender enthusiasm is expressed for them and for their dead mother. (vol. i. p. 236; vol. ii. pp. 122, 123, 146, 379, 380.) Nor was his affection less warmly expressed to the child of his living wife. In several affectionate letters to the latter he never fails to send his blessing to "the baby," or to "little Tom." Shortly before this visit to England, however, the latter died,—and shortly after it, a girl was born.

ship desired to have my daughter Anne with you for a time in England, to recover her health, I have at last been able to yield so much from my own comfort, as to send both her and her sister to wait your grave, wise, and tender instructions. They are both, I praise God, in good health, and bring with them hence from me no other advice, but entirely and cheerfully to obey and do all you shall be pleased to command them, so far forth as their years and understanding may administer unto them.

" I was unwilling to part them, in regard those that must be a stay one to another, when by course of nature I am gone before them. I would not have them grow strangers whilst I am living. Besides, the younger gladly imitates the elder, in disposition so like her blessed mother, that it pleases me very much to see her steps followed and observed by the other.

" Madam, I must confess, it was not without difficulty before I could perswade myself thus to be deprived the looking upon them, who with their brother are the pledges of all the comfort, the greatest at least, of my old age, if it shall please God I attain thereunto. But I have been brought up in afflictions of this kind, so as I still fear to have that taken first that is dearest unto me,— and have in this been content willingly to overcome my own affections in order to their good, acknowledging your ladyship capable of doing them more good in their breeding than I am. Otherways, in truth, I should never have parted with them, as I profess it a grief unto me, not to be as well able as any to serve the memory of that noble lady, in these little harmless infants.

" Well, to God's blessing and your ladyship's goodness I commit them ! where-ever they are my prayers shall attend them, and have of sorrow in my heart till I see them again I must, which I trust will not be long neither. That they shall be acceptable to you, I know it right well, and I believe them so graciously minded to render themselves so the more, the more you see of

their attention to do as you shall be pleased to direct them, which will be of much contentment unto me. For whatever your ladyship's opinion may be of me, I desire, and have given it them in charge (so far as their tender years are capable of), to honour and observe your ladyship above all the women in the world, as well knowing that in so doing they shall fulfil that duty, whereby of all others they could have delighted their mother the most ; — and I do infinitely wish they may want nothing in their breeding my power or cost might procure them, or their condition of life hereafter may require, for, madam, if I die to-morrow, I will by God's help leave them ten thousand pounds apiece, which I trust, by God's blessing, shall bestow them to the comfort of themselves and friends, nor at all considerably prejudice their brother, whose estate shall never be much burthened by a second venter, I assure you.

" I thought fit to send with them one that teacheth them to write ; he is a quiet soft man, but honest, and not given to any disorder ; him I have appointed to account for the money to be laid forth, wherein he hath no other direction but to pay and lay forth as your ladyship shall appoint, and still as he wants, to go to Woodhouse, where my cousin Rockley will supply him. And I must humbly beseech you to give order to their servants, and otherwise to the taylors at London, for their apparel, which I wholly submit to your ladyship's better judgment, and be it what it may be, I shall think it all happily bestowed, so as it be to your contentment and theirs, for cost I reckon not of, and any thing I have is theirs so long as I live, which is only worth thanks, for theirs and their brothers all I have must be whether I will or no, and therefore I desire to let them have to acknowledge me for before.

" Nan, they tell me, danceth prettily, which I wish (if with convenience it might be) were not lost, — more to give her a comely grace in the carriage of her body, than that I wish they should much delight or practise it when they are women. Arabella is a small practi-

tioner that way also, and they are both very apt to learn that or any thing they are taught.

" Nan, I think, speaks French prettily, which yet I might have been better able to judge had her mother lived. The other also speaks, but her maid being of Guernsey, the accent is not good. But your ladyship is in this excellent, as that, as indeed all things else which may befit them, they may, and I hope will, learn better with your ladyship than they can with their poor father, ignorant in what belongs women, and otherways, God knows, distracted, and so awanting unto them in all, saving in loving them, and therein, in truth, I shall never be less than the dearest parent in the world !

" Their brother is just now sitting at my elbow, in good health, God be praised ; and I am in the best sort accommodating this place for him, which, in the kind, I take to be the noblest one of them in the king's dominions, and where a grass time may be passed with most pleasure of that kind. I will build him a good house, and by God's help, leave, I think, near three thousand pounds a year, and wood on the ground, as much, I dare say, if near London, as would yield fifty thousand pounds, besides a house within twelve miles of Dublin, the best in Ireland, and land to it which, I hope, will be two thousand pounds a year,—all which he shall have to the rest, had I twenty brothers of his to sitt beside me. This I write not to your ladyship in vanity, or to have it spoken of, but privately, to let your ladyship see I do not forget the children of my dearest wife, nor altogether bestow my time fruitlessly for them. It is true I am in debt, but there will be, besides, sufficient to discharge all I owe, by God's grace, whether I live or die. And next to these children, there are not any other persons I wish more happiness than to the house of their grandfather, and shall be always most ready to serve them, what opinion soever be had of me, for no others usage can absolve me of what I owe not only to the memory, but to the last legacy, that noble creature left with me, when God took her to himself.

I am afraid to turn over the leaf, lest your ladyship might think I could never come to a conclusion; and shall, therefore," &c.

He had arranged everything for his departure, when one of his paroxysms of illness seized him. He wrestled with it desperately, and set sail. On landing at Chester he wrote to lady Wentworth a sad description of the effects of the journey upon his gout, and the "flux," which afflicted him. He rallied, however, and appeared in London in November, 1639. In a memorable passage, the historian May has described the general conversation and conjecture which had prepared for his approach. Some, he says, remembering his early exertions in the cause of the people, fondly imagined that he had hitherto been subservient to the court, only to ingratiate himself thoroughly with the king, and that he would now employ his ascendancy to wean his majesty from arbitrary counsels. Others, who knew his character more profoundly, had different thoughts, and secretly cherished their own most active energies.

Wentworth, Laud, and Hamilton, instantly formed a secret council—a "cabinet council," as they were then enviously named by the other courtiers—a "junto," as the people reproachfully called them. The nature of the measures to be taken against the Scots was variously and earnestly discussed, and Wentworth, considering the extremity of affairs, declared at once for war.

Supplies to carry it on formed a more difficult question still, but it sank before Wentworth's energy. He proposed a loan,—subscribed to it at once, by way of example, the enormous sum of 20,000*l.*,—and pledged himself to bring over a large subsidy from Ireland if the king would call a parliament there. Encouraged by this assurance, it was resolved to call a parliament in England also. Laud, Juxon, Hamilton, Wentworth, Cottington, Vane, and Windebanke, were all present in council when this resolution was taken. The king then put the question to them whether, upon the restiveness of parliament, they would assist him "by extraordinary

ways." They assented, passed a vote to that effect, writs for parliaments in both countries were issued, and Wentworth prepared himself to quit England.

Charles, unsolicited, now invested him with the dignity of earldom. His own very existence seemed dependent on Wentworth's faith, and there was sufficient weakness in the character of the king to render it possible for him to suppose that, even at such a time, the inducement of reward might be necessary as a precaution. The lord deputy was created earl of Strafford and baron of Raby, adorned with the garter, and invested with the title of lord-lieutenant, or lieutenant-general, of Ireland — a title which had not been given since the days of Essex. "God willing," wrote Strafford to his wife immediately after, "you will soon see the lieutenant of Ireland, but never like to have a deputy of Ireland to your husband any more."¹

On his way to Ireland, the earl was overtaken, at Beaumaris, by a severe attack of gout, yet, still able to move, he hurried on board, notwithstanding the contrary winds, lest he should be thrown down utterly. He wrote at the same time to secretary Cooke, in the highest spirits, to assure him and his master that they need not fear for his weakness. "For," exclaims the lord-lieutenant, "I will make strange shift, and put myself to all the pain I shall be able to endure, before I be anywhere awanting to my master or his affairs in this conjuncture, and, therefore, sound or lame, you shall have me with you before the beginning of the parliament. I should not fail, though SIR JOHN ELIOT were living! In the mean space, for love of Christ, call upon and hasten the business now in hand, especially the raising of the horse and all together, the rather, for that this work now before us, should it miscarry, we all are like to be

¹ Letter in the Thoresby Museum, Biog. Brit. vol. vii. p. 4182. Some days before he had written to her characteristic news of his children. "The two wenches," he said, "are in perfect health, and now at this instant in this house, lodged with me, and rather desirous to be so than with their grandmother. I am not yet fully resolved what to do with them." They were afterwards sent back to lady Clare, till the lady Strafford arrived in London.

very miserable,—but, carried through advisedly and gallantly, shall by God's blessing set us in safety and peace for our lives at after, nay, in probability, the generations that are to succeed us. *Si a faute de courage, je n'en aye que trop!* What might I be with my legs, that am so brave without the use of them? Well, halt, blind, or lame, I will be found true to the person of my gracious master, to the service of his crown and my friends." Strange that, at such a moment, lord Strafford should have recalled the memory of the virtuous and indomitable Eliot! He was soon doomed to know on whose shoulders the mantle of Buckingham's great opponent had fallen.

In March, 1640, Strafford again arrived in Ireland. The members of the parliament that had just been summoned, crowded round him with lavish devotion, gave him four subsidies, which was all that he had desired, and declared that that was nothing in respect to their zeal, for that "his majesty should have the fee simple of their estates for his great occasions." In a formal declaration, moreover, they embodied all this, declared that their present warm loyalty rose from a deep sense of the inestimable benefits the lord-lieutenant had conferred upon their country, and that all these benefits had been effected "without the least hurt or grievance to any well-disposed subject."¹ The authors of this declaration were the first to turn upon Strafford in his distress. Valuing their praise for its worth in the way of example, the earl forwarded it to England, and requested it to be published to the empire.

He had now been a fortnight in Ireland. Within that time, with a diligence unparalleled and almost incredible, he had effected these results with the parliament, and levied a body of 8000 men as a reinforcement to the royal army.² He again set sail for England.

I pause here to illustrate the character of this extraordinary person in one respect, which circumstances are

¹ See Strafford Papers, vol. ii. pp. 296, 297. Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1051. Nelson, vol. i. p. 280—284.

² See Radcliffe's Essay.

soon to make essential. His infirmities of health have frequently been alluded to, but they come now upon the scene more fatally. No one, that has not carefully examined all his despatches, can have any notion of their frightful nature and extent.

The soul of the earl of Strafford was indeed lodged, to use the expression of his favourite Donne, within a "low and fatal room." We have already seen his friend, Radcliffe, informing us, that in 1622 "he had a great fever, and the next spring a double tertian, and after his recovery a relapse into a single tertian, and a while after a burning fever." It is melancholy to follow the progress of his infirmities as they are casually recorded by himself!—How the trouble of "an humour, which in strict acceptation you might term the gout," soon increases to "an extreme fit, which renders him unfit, not only for business, but for all handsome civility," and is aggravated by "so violent a fit of the stone, as I shall not be able to stir these ten days — it hath brought me very low, and was unto me a torment for three days and three nights above all I ever endured since I was a man!" — How the eyes that are "these twelve days full of dimness," ere long are "scarce able to guide his pen thorough blindness with long writing;" — and this, too, while "an infirmity I have formerly had in great measure, saluteth me, to wit, an intermitting pulse, attended with faint sweats and heaviness of spirits!"

But ever by the side of the body's weakness we find a witness of the spirit's triumph, — a vindication of the mightiness of will! A lengthened despatch to the secretary is begun in "a fit of the gout which, keeping me still in bed, partly with pain and partly with weariness, makes me unfit for much business." — When he intreats a correspondent to "to pardon my scribbling, for since the gout took me I am not able to write but with both my legs along upon a stool, believe me, which is not only wearisome in itself, but a posture very untoward for guiding my pen aright," — it is with the consolation that "as sir Walter Raleigh said very well,

so the heart lie right, it skills not much for all the rest."—And the advice to "forbear his night watches, and now begin to take more care of his health," is met by the assurance that, "had he fivescore senses to lose, he did and ought to judge them all well and happily bestowed in his majesty's service!"

On the occasion of this last return to England, however, even what has been described would serve little to express what he suffered. Then, when every energy was to be taxed to the uttermost, the question of his fiery spirit's supremacy was indeed put to the issue, by a complication of ghastly diseases! In the letter from Dublin, dated Good Friday, 1640, which assures the king that "from this table I shall go on ship board," he is compelled to add that, "*besides my gout, I have a very violent and ill-conditioned flux upon me, such as I never had before. It hath held me already these seven days, and brought me so weak, as in good faith nothing that could concern myself should make me go a mile forth of my chamber. But this is not a season for bemoaning of myself, for I shall cheerfully venture this crazed vessel of mine, and either, by God's help, wait upon your majesty before the parliament begin, — or else deposit this infirm humanity of mine in the dust!*" And "from the table," on "ship board," he went accordingly, and arrived at Chester on the 4th of April, quite broken down by the fatigues of a rough voyage. "I confess," he writes, "that I forced the captain to sea against his will, and have since received my correction for it. A marvellous foul and dangerous night, indeed, we have had of it!" In this state he despatches the following letter to the king:—"May it please your sacred majesty, — With some danger I wrought thorough a storm at sea, yet light on a greater misfortune here in harbour, having now got the gout in both my feet, attended with that ill habit of health I brought from Dublin. I purposed to have been on my way again early this morning, but the physician disadviseth it; and in truth such is my pain and weakness,

as I verily believe I were not able to endure it. Nevertheless, I have provided myself of a litter, and will try to-morrow how I am able to bear travel, which if possible I can do, then by the grace of God will I not rest till I have the honour to wait upon your majesty. In the mean time it is most grievous unto me to be thus kept from those duties which I owe your majesty's service on this great and important occasion. In truth, sir, in my whole life I never desired health more than now, if it shall so please God,—not that I can be so vain as to judge myself equally considerable with many other of your servants, but that I might give my own heart the contentment to be near your commands, in case I might be so happy as to be of some small use to my most gracious master in such a conjuncture of time and affairs as this is. God long preserve your majesty."

Next, he dictates a long despatch to the earl of Northumberland, and attempts, at least, to conclude it with his own hand: — "and yet howbeit, I am much resolved and set on all occasions for your service, will my weary hand be able to carry on my pen not one line further, than only in a word to write myself, in all truth and perfection, your lordship's most humbly to be commanded, STRAFFORD."

I quote also from this despatch to Northumberland an extraordinary incident which occurred on this occasion, and which illustrates his unremitting vigilance in matters which he could hardly have been expected to superintend even under far more favourable circumstances. "Upon my landing at Nesson I observed a Scottish ship there riding upon her anchors, of some six or sevenscore ton, and of some eight or ten pieces of ordnance, and here in town I learn that the ship belongs to Irwin, that she was fraught by some merchants here with sacks, and that the master now in town, is this morning to receive some 600*l.* for freight. Hereupon, considering the day for the general imbargo is so instant, as your lordship knows, I have privately advised

the merchants to stay payment of the freight until to-morrow, and will give present direction for the apprehension of the master and his mate, now in town. I have also spoken to the customers to send down to Nesson to arrest the said ship upon pretence of cozening the king in his customs, for which the master is to be examined, and, however, the ship to be fraught for the king's service for the transportation of these men. I have likewise given command to captain Bartlett presently to repair thither, to be assistant therein to the officers of the customs, and before his leaving the port to see execution of all this, as also to take forth of her, all her Scottish mariners, her sails and guns, and to bring them on shore, leaving only aboard such English mariners as shall be sufficient to send the ship there, till further directions. Thus will she lye fair and open for your arrest, and perchance prove your best prize of that kind, and really being manned with English mariners, which may be pressed for that occasion, be of all other the fittest vessel for the transportation of your men and ammunition to Dunbarton. If I have been over diligent herein, in doing more than (I confess) I have commission for, I humbly crave your lordship's pardon, and hope the rather to obtain it, in regard it is a fault easily mended,—for my honest blue-cap will be hereby so affrighted, as the delivery back unto him of his freight, goods and ship, will sufficiently fulfil his desires and contentment."

A letter written the following day to Windebanke is most eminently characteristic:—"I thank you," he says, "for your good wishes, that I might be free of the gout; but a deaf spirit I find it, that will neither hear nor be persuaded to reason. My pain, I thank God, is gone, yet I am not able to walk once about the chamber, such a weakness hath it left behind. Nevertheless my obstinacy is as great as formerly, for it shall have much more to do before it make me leave my station in these uncertain times. *Of all things I love not to put off my cloaths and go to bed in a storm.* The

lieutenant," he proceeds, " that made the false muster, cannot be too severely punished. If you purpose to overcome that evil, *you must fall upon the first transgressors like lightning!*"

Beside such zealousness as Strafford's, the devotion of others was like to come tardily off. The letter to Windebanke proceeds: — " The proxies of the Irish nobility I have received and transmitted over. I cannot but observe how cautious still your great friend, my lord of St. Alban's, is, lest he might seem to express his affections towards the king with too much frankness and confidence. Lord! how willing he is, by doing something, as good as nothing, to let you see how well contented he would be to disserve the crown, if it were in his power, as indeed it is not. But if his good lordship and his fellows were left to my handling, I should quickly teach them better duties, and put them out of liking with these perverse foward humours. But the best is, by the good help of his friends, he need not apprehend the short horns of such a curst cow as myself,— yet this I will say for him, all your kindness shall not better his affections to the service of the crown, or render him thankful to yourselves longer than his turn is in serving. Remember, sir, that I told you of it. The lord Roch is a person in a lesser volume, of the very self-same edition. Poor soul, you see what he would be at, if he knew how. But seriously let me ask you a question, What would these and such like gentlemen do, were they absolute in themselves, when they are thus forward at that very instant of time, when their whole estates are justly and fairly in the king's mercy? In a word, 'till I see punishments and rewards well and roundly applied, I fear very much the fowardness of this generation will not be reduced to moderation and right reason, but that it shall extreamly much difficult his majesty's ministers, nay, and himself too, in the pursuit of his just and royal designs."

Mr. Brodie has accused Strafford's despatches of heaviness, and certainly every word in them has its

weight. This extraordinary letter concludes thus:—
“ It troubles me very much to understand by these your letters, that the deputy lieutenants of Yorkshire should shew themselves so foolish and so ingrate as to refuse to levy 200 men and send them to Berwick, without a caution of reimbursement of coat and conduct money. As for the precedent they alledge, they well term them to be indeed of former times, for sure I am none of them can remember any such thing of their own knowledge, or have learnt any such thing by their own practice. What they find in some blind book of their fathers kept by his clerk, I know not, but some such poor business is the best proof I believe they can shew for that allegation. Perchance queen Elizabeth now and then did some such thing; but then it ought to be taken as matter of bounty, not of duty, the law being so clear and plain in that point, as you know. Upon my coming to town I will inform myself who have been the chief leaders in this business, and thereupon give my gentlemen something to remember it by hereafter. But, above all, I cannot sufficiently wonder that my lords at the board should think of any other satisfaction than sending for them up, and laying them by the heels, especially considering what hath been already resolved on there amongst us. What, I beseech you, should become of the levy of your 30,000 men, in case the other counties of the kingdom should return you the like answer? And therefore this insolence of theis ought, in my poor opinion, to have been suffocated in the birth, and this boldness met with a courage, which should have taught them their part in these cases to have been obedience, and not dispute. Certain I am, that in queen Elizabeth's time (those golden times that appear so glorious in their eyes, and render them dazzled towards any other object), they would not have had such an expostulation better cheap than the fleet. The very plain truth is, and I beseech you that it may humbly on my part be represented to his majesty in discharge of my own duty, that the council-board of late years have

gone with so tender a foot in those businesses of lieutenancy, that it hath almost lost that power to the crown; and yet such a power it is, and so necessary, as I do not know how we should be able either to correct a rebellion at home, or to defend ourselves from an invasion from abroad, without it. All which, nevertheless, I mention with all humility in the world, without the least imputation to any particular person living or dead, and humbly beseech his majesty to cause the reins of this piece of his government to be strongly gathered up again, which have of late hung too long loose upon us his lieutenants and deputy lieutenants within the kingdom."

Notwithstanding his desperate state, Strafford caused himself to be pushed on to London. A desire of the king that he should not hazard the journey, reached him already engaged in it.¹ He persisted in being transported thither in a litter by easy journeys. In London a greater and final occasion was yet to be afforded him, for the display of an indomitable nature triumphantly baffling disease and decay, and still, with the increasing and imperious urgency of the need, towed ever prouder the inexhaustible genius of Strafford.

The parliament had met, and the earl immediately took his seat in the house of lords. Their proceedings, and their abrupt dissolution, belong to history. After that fatal state error, an army, to the command of which Northumberland had been appointed, was marched against the Scots. Severe illness, however, held Northumberland to his bed, and the king resolved to appoint Strafford in his place. "The earl of Strafford," observes Clarendon, "was scarce recovered from

¹ It is worth quoting as almost the only expression of care and sympathy Charles had hitherto given to his minister. "Having seen divers letters, Strafford, to my lord of Canterbury, concerning the state of your health at this time, I thought it necessary by this to command you, not to hazard to travel before ye may do it with the safety of your health, and in this I must require you not to be your own judge, but be content to follow the advice of those that are about you, whose affections and skill ye shall have occasion to trust unto. If I did not know that this care of your health were necessary for us both at this time, I would have deferred my thanks to you for your great service lately done, until I might have seen you. So praying to God for your speedy recovery, I rest your assured friend."

a great sickness, yet was willing to undertake the charge out of pure indignation to see how few men were forward to serve the king with that vigour of mind they ought to do ; but knowing well the malicious designs which were contrived against himself, he would rather serve as lieutenant-general under the earl of Northumberland, than that he should resign his commission : and so, with and under that qualification, he made all possible haste towards the north before he had strength enough for the journey."¹ The same noble historian, after saying that Strafford could with difficulty, in consequence of illness, sit in his saddle, describes the shock he experienced in receiving intelligence of the disgraceful flight of a portion of the king's troops at Newbourne on the Tyne, and proceeds thus : — " In this posture the earl of Strafford found the army about Durham, bringing with him a body much broken with his late sickness, which was not clearly shaken off, and a mind and temper confessing the dregs of it, which, being marvellously provoked and inflamed with indignation at the late dishonour, rendered him less gracious, that is, less inclined to make himself so, to the officers upon his first entrance into his charge : it may be, in that mass of disorder not quickly discerning to whom kindness and respect was justly due. But those who by this time no doubt were retained for that purpose, took that opportunity to incense the army against him, and so far prevailed in it, that in a short time it was more inflamed against him than against the enemy."² In this melancholy state, with a disgraced and mutinous force, Strafford fell back upon York.

From this moment he sank daily. Intrigues of the most disgraceful character, carried on by Holland, Hamilton, and Vane, and assisted every way by the queen, united with his sickness to, break him down. Still he was making desperate efforts to strengthen and animate his army, when suddenly he found that a treaty with the Scots had actually commenced, and that his

¹ History, vol. i. p. 114.

² Vol. i. p. 115.

especial enemy, lord Savile, was actively employed to forward it. Ultimately, these negotiations were placed in the hands of sixteen peers, every one of whom were his personal opponents. And the crowning enemy was behind,—“an enemy,” as lord Clarendon observes, “more terrible than all the others, and like to be more fatal, *the whole Scottish nation*, provoked by the declaration he had procured of Ireland, and some high carriage and expressions of his against them in that kingdom.”¹ They illustrated this eminent hatred, by peremptorily refusing, in the midst of much profession of attachment to the king and the English nation, to hold any conferences at York, because it was within the jurisdiction of him whom they called that “chief incendiary,” their “mortal foe,” the lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

In this there was exaggeration. Notwithstanding the assertions of nearly all the histories, that Strafford’s continual counsel to Charles was to rely on arms alone, it is quite certain, from the minutes of the council of peers at York², that this is erroneous. When he sent the commission to Ormond to bring over his own army of 20,000 men from Ireland, the negotiations had not been resumed, and, on the resumption of them, that commission was withdrawn. Now, however, thwarted and exasperated on all sides, he resolved to furnish one more proof (it was destined to be the last!) of the possibility of recovering the royal authority, by a great and vigorous exertion. During the negotiations no actual cessation of arms had been agreed to by the Scots, and he therefore secretly despatched a party of

¹ The hatred was, indeed, mutual. Strafford more than once, in his despatches, shows that he even disliked, and was disposed to turn into ridicule, their mode of speech. Alluding to a Scotchman, for instance, a Mr. Barre, whom he supposed to have been favoured by the court intrigues against him, he writes from Ireland thus:—“Then on that side he procures, by some very near his majesty, access to the king, there whispering continually something or another to my prejudice; boasts familiarly, how freely he speaks with his majesty, what he saith concerning me, and *esouant plesce your majesty en werde mair anent your deuity of Irelan*, with many such like boasteries, stuffed with a mighty deal of untruths and follies amongst.” And see Rushworth, vol. iii. p. 1293.

² Printed in the Hardwicke State Papers. And see a very able and impartial view of Strafford’s conduct and character, in the History continued from Mackintosh.

horse, under a favourite officer, to attack them in their quarters. A large body of the enemy were defeated by this manœuvre, all their officers taken prisoners, the army inspirited, and the spirits of Strafford himself restored. Again he spoke confidently of the future, when suddenly the king, prevailed on by others, commanded him to forbear. In the same moment, without any previous warning, he was told that a parliament was summoned.

Strafford saw at once the extent of his danger. He had thrown his last stake and lost it. He prayed of the king to be allowed to retire to his government in Ireland, or to some other place, where he might promote his majesty's service, and not deliver himself into the hands of his enraged enemies. Charles refused. He still reposed on the enormous value of his minister's genius, and considered that no sacrifice too great might be incurred, for the chance of its service to himself in the coming struggle. At the same time he pledged himself by a solemn promise, that, "while there was a king in England, not a hair of Strafford's head should be touched by the parliament!" The earl arrived in London.

"It was about three of the clock in the afternoon," says Clarendon, "when the Earl of Strafford (being infirm and not well disposed in health, and so not having stirred out of his house that morning,) hearing that both houses still sate, thought fit to go thither. It was believed by some (upon what ground was never clear enough) that he made that haste there to accuse the lord Say, and some others, of having induced the Scots to invade the kingdom; but he was scarce entered into the house of peers, when the message from the house of commons was called in, and when Mr. Pym at the bar, and in the name of all the commons of England, impeached Thomas, earl of Strafford (with the addition of all his other titles) of high treason!"

Upwards of twelve years had elapsed since sir Thomas Wentworth stood face to face with Pym. Upon the eve of his elevation to the peerage, they had casually met

at Greenwich, when, after a short conversation on public affairs, they separated with these memorable words, addressed by Pym to Wentworth. " You are going to leave us, but I will never leave you, while your head is upon your shoulders!"¹ That prophetic summons to a more fatal meeting was now at last accomplished!

Strafford had entered the house, we learn from one who observed him, with his usual impetuous step— " with speed," says Baillie, " he comes to the house; he calls rudely at the door; James Maxwell, keeper of the black rod, opens; his lordship with a proud gloomy countenance, makes towards his place at the board head; but at once many bid him void the house; so he is forced, in confusion, to go to the door till he was called. . . He offered to speak, but was commanded to be gone without a word. In the outer room, James Maxwell required him, as prisoner, to deliver his sword. When he had got it, he cries, with a loud voice, for his man to carry my lord-lieutenant's sword. This done, he makes through a number of people to his coach, all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatest in England would have stood discovered."

This was a change indeed! Yet it was a change for which Strafford would seem to have been found not altogether unprepared. In all the proceedings preliminary to his memorable trial, in all the eventful incidents that followed, he was quiet and collected, and showed, in his general bearing, a magnanimous self-subduement. It is a mean as well as a hasty judgment, which would attribute this to any unworthy compromise with his real nature. It is probably a juster and more profound view of it, to say that, into a few of the later weeks of his life, new knowledge had penetrated from the midst of the breaking of his fortunes. It was well and beautifully said by a then living poet, —

" The soul's dark cottage, battered and decayed,
Lets in new light through chinks that time has made!"

¹ An admirable commentary on this fierce text is supplied by my friend Mr. Cattermole, at the commencement of the volume.

— and when suddenly upon the sight of Strafford broke the vision of the long unseen assembly of the people, with the old chiefs, and the old ceremonies, only more august and more fatal,— when he saw himself in a single hour, disabled by a set of men not greater in vigour or in intellect than those over whom the weak-minded Buckingham had for years contemptuously triumphed,— the chamber of that assembly forsaken for Westminster Hall,— its once imperious master become a timid auditor, listening unobserved through his screening curtains, and unable to repress by his presence a single threatening glance, or subdue a single fierce voice, amongst the multitude assembled to pronounce judgment on his minister,— that multitude grown from the “faithful commons” into the imperial council of the land, and the sworn upholders of its not yet fallen liberties,— Pym no longer the mouth-piece of a faction that might be trampled on, but recognised as the chosen champion of the people of England, “the delegated voice of God;”— when Strafford had persuaded himself that all this vision was indeed a reality before him, we may feel the sudden and subduing conviction which at once enthralled him to itself! the conviction that he had mistaken the true presentment of that principle of power which he worshipped, and that his genius should have had a different devotion. He had not sunk lower, but the parliament had towered immeasurably higher!

The first thing he did after his arrest, was to write to the lady Strafford. “Sweet hart,— You have heard before this what hath befallen me in this place, but be you confident, that if I fortune to be blamed, yet I will not, by God’s help, be ashamed. Your carriage upon this misfortune I should advise to be calm, not seeming to be neglective of my trouble, and yet so as there may appear no dejection in you. Continue on the family as formerly, and make much of your children. Tell Will, Nan, and Arabella, I will write to them by the next. In the mean time I shall pray for them to God, that

he may bless them, and for their sakes deliver me out of the furious malice of my enemies, which yet I trust, through the goodnesse of God, shall do me no hurt. God have us all in his blessed keeping. Your very loving husbande, STRAFFORDE."

A few days after this, having vainly proffered bail, he was committed to the Tower. Thereupon he wrote again to lady Strafford. "Sweet hart,—I never pityed you so much as I do now, for in the death of that great person the deputy, you have lost the principal friend you had there, whilst we are here riding out the storm, as well as God and the season shall give us leave. Yet I trust lord Dillon will supply unto you in part that great loss, till it please God to bring us together again. As to myself, albeit all be done against me that art and malice can devise, with all the rigour possible, yet I am in great inward quietnesse, and a strong beliefe God will deliver me out of all these troubles. The more I look into my case, the more hope I have, and sure, if there be any honour and justice left, my life will not be in danger, and for any thing els, time I trust will salve any other hurt which can be done me. Therefore hold up your heart, look to the children and your house, let me have your prayers, and at last, by God's good pleasure, we shall have our deliverance, when we may as little look for it as we did for this blow of misfortune, which, I trust, will make us better to God and man. Your loving husbande, STRAFFORDE."

The preliminary arrangements having been settled, and some negotiations proposed by Charles with a view to his rescue having failed, Strafford's impeachment began. Never had such "pompous circumstances" and so "stately a manner" been witnessed at any judicial proceeding in England. One only, since that day, has matched it. It was not the trial of an individual, but the solemn arbitration of an issue between the two great antagonist principles, liberty and despotism. Westminster Hall, which had alternately witnessed the triumphs of both, was the fitting scene. Scaffolds, nearly reaching to

the roof, were erected on either side, eleven stages high, divided by rails. In the upper ranks of these were the commissioners of Scotland and the lords of Ireland, who had joined with the commoners of England in their accusations. In the centre sat the peers in their parliament robes, and the lord keeper and the judges, in their scarlet robes, were on the woolsacks. At the upper end, beyond the peers, was a chair raised under a cloth of state for the king, and another for the prince. The throne was unoccupied, for the king was supposed not to be present, since, in his presence, by legal construction, no judicial act could legally be done. Two cabinets or galleries, with trellis work, were on each side of the cloth of state. The king, the queen, and their court, occupied one of these¹ — the foreign nobility then in London the other. The earls of Arundel and Lindsey acted, the one as high-steward, and the other as high-constable, of England. Strafford entered the hall daily, guarded by two hundred trainbands. The king had procured it as a special favour, that the axe should not be carried before him. At the foot of the state-cloth was a scaffold for ladies of quality ; at the lower end was a place with partitions, and an apartment to retire to, for the convenience and consultations of the managers of the trial ; opposite to this the witnesses entered ; and between was a small desk, at which the accused earl stood or sate, with the lieutenant of the Tower beside him, and at his back four secretaries.

The articles of accusation had gradually, during the long and tedious preliminary proceedings, swelled from nine — which was their original number — to twenty-eight. Pym, in an able speech, presented them to the house of lords. Strafford entreated that — seeing these charges filled 200 sheets of paper, and involved the various and ill-remembered incidents of fourteen years of

¹ The king, however, observes Baillie, "brake down the screens with his own hands, so they sat in the eyes of all, but little more regarded than if they had been absent, for the lords sat all covered." Baillie was the principal of the college of Glasgow, and present by order of the Scottish

a life of severe action — the space of three months should be permitted for the answer. He was allowed three weeks, and, on the 24th of February, 1641, his answers, in detail, to the charges of the commons were read to the house. The 22d of March was then fixed for the commencement of his trial.

On the first reception of the articles, Strafford, with characteristic purpose, wrote to his wife. “ Sweet Harte,—It is long since I writt unto you, for I am here in such a trouble, as gives me little or no respitt. The charge is now come in, *and I am now able, I prayse God, to tell you that I conceive there is nothing capitall;* and for the reste, I know at the worste his majestie will pardon all, without hurting my fortune; and then we shall be happy, by God’s grace. Therefore comfort yourself, for I trust thes cloudes will away, and that wee shall have faire weather afterwardes. Farewell. Your loving husband, STRAFFORDE.” He expressed the same opinion in a letter to sir Adam Loftus.

A short summary of the charges will be sufficient for the present purpose. For it is not necessary, after the ample notice which has been given of Strafford’s life and actions, to occupy any considerable space with the proceedings, which only further illustrated them here.¹

The grand object which the leaders of the commons had in view, was to establish against Strafford **AN ATTEMPT TO SUBVERT THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF THE COUNTRY.**² They had an unquestionable right, with this view, to blend in the impeachment offences of a different degree; nor was it ever pretended by them that more than one or two of the articles amounted to treason. Their course — to deduce a legal construction of treason

¹ Rushworth has devoted a large folio volume, to the occurrences of the impeachment alone.

² They had passed this vote in the house of commons, and against it not a voice was raised, even by the earl’s most ardent supporters. “ That the earl of Strafford had endeavoured to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm, and to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical government.”

from actions notoriously gone "thorough" with in the service and in exaltation of the king — was to show that, no matter with what motive, any actions undertaken which had a tendency to prove destructive to the state, amounted, in legal effect, to a traitorous design against the sovereign. The sovereign, it was argued by these great men, could never have had a contemplated existence beyond, or independent of, the state. It could never have been the object, they said, to have defended the king by the statute of Edward III., and to have left undefended the great body of the people associated under him. This principle Strafford had himself recognised in his support of the petition of right, and it is truly observed by Rushworth, that "all the laws confirmed and renewed in that petition of right were said to be the most envenomed arrows that gave him his mortal wound." The proofs by which it was proposed to sustain the tremendous accusation, were to be deduced from a series of his actions infringing the laws, from words intimating arbitrary designs, and from certain counsels which directly tended to the entire ruin of the frame of the constitution.

Over the three great divisions of his public functions the articles of impeachment were distributed. As president of the council of York, he was charged with having procured powers subversive of all law, with having committed insufferable acts of oppression under colour of his instructions, and with having distinctly announced tyrannical intentions, by declaring that the people should find "the king's little finger heavier than the loins of the law." As governor of Ireland, he was accused of having publicly asserted, "That the Irish was a conquered nation, and that the king might do with them as he pleased." He was charged with acts of oppression towards the earl of Cork, lord Mountnorris, the lord chancellor Loftus, the earl of Kildare, and other persons. He had, it was alleged, issued a general warrant for the seizure of all persons who refused to submit to any legal decree against them,

and for their detention till they either submitted, or gave bail to appear before the council table : he had sent soldiers to free quarters on those who would not obey his arbitrary decrees : he had prevented the redress of his injustice, by procuring instructions to prohibit all persons of distinction from quitting Ireland without his express licence : he had appropriated to himself a large share of the customs, the monopoly of tobacco, and the sale of licences for the exportation of certain commodities : he had committed grievous acts of oppression in guarding his monopoly of tobacco : he had, for his own interest, caused the rates on merchandise to be raised, and the merchants to be harassed with new and unlawful oaths : he had obstructed the industry of the country, by introducing new and unknown processes into the manufacture of flax : he had encouraged his army, the instrument of his oppression, by assuring them that his majesty would regard them as a pattern for all his three kingdoms : he had enforced an illegal oath on the Scottish subjects in Ireland : he had given undue encouragement to papists, and had actually composed the whole of his new-levied troops of adherents to that religion. As chief minister of England, it was laid to his charge that he had instigated the king to make war on the Scots, and had himself, as governor of Ireland, commenced hostilities : that, on the question of supplies, he had declared, " That his majesty should first try the parliament here, and if that did not supply him according to his occasions, he might then use his prerogative to levy what he needed ; and that he should be acquitted both of God and man, if he took some other courses to supply himself, though it were against the will of his subjects :" that, after the dissolution of that parliament, he had said to his majesty, " That, having tried the affections of his people, he was loose and absolved from all rules of government, and was to do every thing that power would admit ; that his majesty had tried all ways, and was refused, and should be acquitted both to God and man ; that he had an

army in Ireland, which he might employ to reduce England to obedience." He was farther charged with having counselled the royal declaration which reflected so bitterly on the last parliament; with the seizure of the bullion in the Tower; the proposal of coining base money; a new levy of ship-money; and the loan of 100,000*l.* from the city of London. He was accused of having told the refractory citizens that no good would be done till they were laid up by the heels, and some of their aldermen hanged for an example. It was laid to his charge that he had levied arbitrary exactions on the people of Yorkshire to maintain his troops: and, finally, that his counsels had given rise to the rout at Newburn.¹

In his answers and opposing evidence Strafford maintained, that "the enlarged instructions for the council of York had not been procured by his solicitations; that the specified instances of oppression in the northern counties were committed after his departure for Ireland; and that the words imputed to him were directly the reverse of those which he had spoken. With regard to Ireland, he vindicated his opinion that it was a conquered country, and that the king's prerogative was much greater there than in England. He contended that all the judgments, charged on him as arbitrary, were delivered by competent courts, in none of which he had above a single voice: that the prevention of persons from quitting the kingdom without licence, as well as placing soldiers at free quarters on the disobedient, were transactions consistent with ancient usages: that the flax manufacture owed all its prosperity to his exertions, and that his prohibition tended to remedy some barbarous and unjust methods of sorting the yarn: that his bargains for the customs and tobacco were profitable to the crown and the country: and that the oath which he had enforced on the Scots was required by the critical circumstances of the times, and fully approved by the government. In regard to his trans-

¹ Strafford's Trial, pp. 61—75. Nanson, vol. ii. pp. 11—20.

actions in England, he answered that hostility against Scotland having been resolved on, he had merely counselled an offensive in preference to a defensive war: that his expressions relative to supplies were in strict conformity to the established maxim of the constitution¹: that, in such emergencies as a foreign invasion, the sovereign was entitled to levy contributions, or adopt any other measure for the public defence: that the words relative to the employment of the Irish army were falsely stated, and that he had not ventured to apply to the kingdom of England words uttered in a committee expressly assembled to consider of the reduction of Scotland. He said that his harsh expressions towards the citizens of London were heard by only one interested individual, and not heard by others who stood as near him: that the contributions in Yorkshire were voluntary: and that the proposals for seizing the bullion and coining base money did not proceed from him.²

The charges which remained untouched by these answers were abandoned by the commons, as irrelative or incapable of proof, and on the 23d of March, 1641, the chief manager, Mr. Pym, rose in Westminster Hall, and opened the case against him.

The "getting up" of that mighty scene has been described, and a few words may serve to put it, as it were, in action.

Three kingdoms, by their representatives, were present, and for fifteen days, the period of the duration of the trial, "it was daily," says Baillie, "the most glorious assembly the isle could afford." The earl himself appeared before it each day in deep mourning, wearing his George. The stern and simple character of his features accorded with the occasion, — his "countenance manly black," as Whitelock terms it, and his

¹ *Salus populi suprema lex.*

² Strafford's Trial, pp. 61—75. Nason, vol. II., pp. 11—29. I have partly availed myself, in the above, of Mr. MacDiarmid's abstract — pp. 251—259. Some of the charges specified, were added in the course of the trial.

thick dark hair cut short from his ample forehead. A poet who was present exclaimed,

" On thy brow
Sat terror mixed with wisdom, and at once
Saturn and Hermes in thy countenance."

—To this was added the deep interest which can never be withheld from sickness bravely borne. His face was dashed with paleness, and his body stooped with its own infirmities even more than with its master's cares. This was, indeed, so evident, that he was obliged to allude to it himself, and it was not seldom alluded to by others. "They had here," he said, on one occasion, "this rag of mortality before them, worn out with numerous infirmities, which, if they tore into shreds, there was no great loss, only in the spilling of his, they would open a way to the blood of all the nobility in the land." His disorders were the most terrible to bear in themselves, and of that nature, moreover, which can least endure the aggravation of mental anxiety. A severe attack of stone¹, gout in one of his legs to an extent even with him unusual, and other pains, had bent all their afflictions upon him. Yet, though a generous sympathy was demanded on this score, and paid by not a few of his worst opponents, it availed little with the multitudes that were present. Much noise and confusion prevailed at all times through the hall; there was always a great clamour near the doors; and we have it on the authority of Rushworth himself, that at those intervals when Strafford was busied in preparing his answers, the most distracting "hub-bubs" broke out, lords walked about and chatted, and commoners were yet more offensively loud.² This was unfavourable to the recollection, for disproof, of incidents long passed, and of conversations forgotten!³ But conscious that he was not to be allowed in any case permission to retire, as soon as one of his opponent

¹ See Nalson, vol. ii. p. 100. *et seq.*

² Baillie adds, that in these periods "flesh and bread" was ate, and "bottles of beer and wine were going thick from mouth to mouth."

³ Baillie cannot refrain from saying, while he describes the guilt to have been fully proved, that some of the evidence was only "chamber and table-discourse, flim-flams, and fairies-fairies."

managers had closed his charge, the earl calmly turned his back to his judges, and, with uncomplaining composure, conferred with his secretaries and counsel.

He had, indeed, it is not to be forgotten, strong assurances to sustain him secretly. He had, first, his own conviction of the legal incompetency of the charges, and to this was added the doubly pledged faith of the king. In his prison he had received the following letter ; —

"**STRAFFORD,** — The misfortune that is fallen upon you by the strange mistaking and conjuncture of these times, being such that I must lay by the thought of employing you hereafter in my affairs, yet I cannot satisfy myself in honour or conscience, without assuring you (now in the midst of your troubles) that upon the word of a king you shall not suffer in life, honour, or fortune. This is but justice, and therefore a very mean reward from a master to so faithful and able a servant, as you have showed yourself to be, — yet it is as much as I conceive the present times will permit, though none shall hinder me from being your constant and faithful friend, **CHARLES.**" But against these aids, were opposed certain significant symptoms of a desperate and fatal purpose on the part of the managers of the impeachment. The bishops, on whom he might reasonably have relied, had, on the motion of Williams, withdrawn from attendance "*in agitatione cause sanguinis*," surrendering the right they had, under what was called "the constitutions of Clarendon," of attending in capital trials up to the stage of judgment. Next, — the person on whose evidence Strafford mainly relied in the proof of his answers, sir George Radcliffe, had, by a master-stroke of Pym's, been incapacitated suddenly by a charge of treason against himself, — not preferred certainly without cause, on the presumption of the guilt of the principal, for he had been Strafford's guilty agent in all things, but preferred with a fatal effect to Strafford himself. Again, — though counsel had been granted him, they were restricted by the lords, on conference with the commons, to the argument of points of law.

Lastly,—with an irresistible energy, equalled only by Strafford's own, Pym had forced from the king a release for all the members of his secret council from their oath of secrecy, in order to their examination before the committee of impeachment.

" My lords," said Strafford,—alluding to this, and to certain words of his own which such examination had been alleged to have proved,— " My lords, these words were not wantonly or unnecessarily spoken, or whispered in a corner, but they were spoken in full council, where, by the duty of my oath, I was obliged to speak according to my heart and conscience, in all things concerning the king's service. If I had forborne to speak what I conceived to be for the benefit of the king and the people, I had been perjured towards almighty God. And for delivering my mind openly and freely, shall I be in danger of my life, as a traitor? If that necessity be put upon me, I thank God, by his blessing I have learned not to stand in fear of him who can only kill the body. If the question be, whether I must be traitor to man, or perjured to God, I will be faithful to my creator. And whatsoever shall befall me from popular rage or from my own weakness, I must leave it to that almighty being, and to the justice and honour of my judges. My lords, I conjure you not to make yourselves so unhappy, as to disable yourselves and your children from undertaking the great charge and trust of the commonwealth. You inherit that trust from your fathers, you are born to great thoughts, you are nursed up for the great and weighty employments of the kingdom. But if it be once admitted, that a counsellor, delivering his opinion with others at the council-table, *candidè et castè*, under an oath of secrecy and faithfulness, shall be brought into question, upon some misapprehension or ignorance of law,—if every word, that he speaks from a sincere and noble intention, shall be drawn against him, for the attainting of him, his children and posterity,—I know not (under favor I speak it,) any wise or noble person of fortune, who will, upon such perilous and unsafe terms, adventure to

be counsellor to the king ! Therefore, I beseech your lordships so to look on me, that my misfortune may not bring an inconvenience upon yourselves. And though my words were not so advised and discreet, or so well weighed, as they ought to be, yet I trust your lordships are too honourable and just, to lay them to my charge as high treason. Opinions may make an heretic, but that they make a traitor, I have never heard till now."

Again, in reference to matters alleged against him on the evidence of familiar conversations, he eloquently protested thus : — " If, my lords, words spoken to friends in familiar discourse, spoken in one's chamber, spoken at one's table, spoken in one's sick bed, spoken perhaps to gain better reason, to give himself more clear light and judgment, by reasoning ; — if these things shall be brought against a man as treason, this, under favour, takes away the comfort of all human society, — by this means we shall be debarred from speaking (the principal joy and comfort of society) with wise and good men, to become wiser, and better our lives. If these things be strained to take away life and honour, and all that is desirable, it will be a silent world ! A city will become a hermitage, and sheep will be found amongst a crowd and press of people ! and no man shall dare to impart his solitary thoughts or opinions to his friend and neighbour !" Noble and touching as this is, let the reader remember, as he reads it, the case of Mountnorris, and the misquoting and torturing of words, in themselves harmless, by which the lord deputy of Ireland sacrificed that man to his schemes of absolute power. It is mournful to be obliged to add that, it is chiefly the genius of a great actor which calls for admiration in this great scene ; for though he was, as we may well believe, sincere in his sudden present acknowledgment of that power of the commons which he had so often braved, the same plea of sincerity cannot serve him in his bold outfacing of every previous action of his power.

As the trial proceeded, so extraordinary were the resources he manifested, that the managers of the commons failed in much of the effect of their evidence. Even the clergy who were present forgot the imprisonment of the weak and miserable Laud (who now lay in prison, stripped of his power by this formidable parliament, which the very despotism of himself and Strafford had gifted with its potently operative force!) and thought of nothing but the "grand apostate" before them. "By this time," says May, "the people began to be a little divided in opinion. The clergy in general were so much fallen into love and admiration of this earl, that the archbishop of Canterbury was almost quite forgotten by them. The courtiers cried him up, and the ladies were exceedingly on his side. It seemed a very pleasant object to see so many Sempronias, with pen, ink, and paper in their hands, noting the passages, and discoursing upon the grounds, of law and state. They were all of his side, whether moved by pity, proper to their sex, or by ambition of being able to judge of the parts of the prisoner. But so great was the favour and love which they openly expressed to him, that some could not but think of that verse: —

" Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus Ulysses
Et tamen aequoreus toruit amore deas!"

Even the chairman of the committee who prepared his impeachment, the author of the Memorials, observes, "Certainly never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdome, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures, than this great and excellent person did."

Such, indeed, appeared to be a very prevailing feeling, when on the morning of the 10th of April, before the opening of that day's trial, Pym entered the house of commons and announced a communication respecting the earl of Strafford, of vital importance. The members

were ordered to remain in their places, and the doors of the house were locked. Pym and the young sir Harry Vane then rose, and produced a paper containing "a copy of notes taken at a junto of the privy council for the Scots affairs, about the 5th of May last." These were notes made by sir Henry Vane the elder, and Clarendon says, that he placed them in the hands of Pym out of hatred to Strafford. With much more appearance and likelihood of truth, however, Whitelocke states that the elder Vane, being absent from London, and in want of some papers, sent the key of his study to his son, and that the latter, in executing his father's orders, found this paper, and was ultimately induced by Pym to allow its production against Strafford. The commons received this new evidence with many expressions of zealous thankfulness.

On the 13th of April the notes were read in Westminster Hall by Pym. They were in the shape of a dialogue and conference, and contained opinions delivered by Laud and Hamilton ; but the essential words were words spoken by Strafford to the king. " You have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce *this kingdom* to obedience." Vane the elder was then called. He denied recollection of the words at first, till it had been asserted by others of the privy council, that Strafford had used those words, " or the like," when the earl's brother-in-law, lord Clare, rose and suggested that "*this kingdom*," by grammatical construction, might mean Scotland. With singular ability Strafford directed all his resources to the weakening of this evidence, but it was generally regarded as fatal. He urged his brother-in-law's objection ; the very title of the notes, in proof of the country referred to, " no danger of a war with Scotland, if offensive, not defensive ;" and protested against a man's life being left to hang upon a single word. The evidence was, finally, admitted against him, and he was called upon to make his general defence in person against the facts, leaving the law to his counsel.

He began by adverting to his painful and adverse position, alone and unsupported, against the whole authority and power of the commons, his health impaired, his memory almost gone, his thoughts unquiet and troubled. He prayed of their lordships to supply his many infirmities, by their better abilities, better judgments, better memories. " You alone," he said, " I acknowledge, with all gladness and humility, as my judges. The king condemns no man ; the great operation of his sceptre is mercy ; he dispenses justice by his ministers ; but, with reverence be it spoken, he is not my judge, nor are the commons my judges, in this case of life and death. To your judgment alone, my lords, I submit myself in all cheerfulness. I have great cause to give thanks to God for this, and celebrated be the wisdom of our ancestors who have so ordained."

With great force and subtle judgment, he then argued against the doctrine of arbitrary and constructive treason, and afterwards proceeded — " My lords, it is hard to be questioned upon a law which cannot be shown. Where hath this fire lain hid so many hundred years, without smoke to discover it, till it thus burst forth to consume me and my children ? That punishment should precede promulgation of a law, to be punished by a law subsequent to the fact, is extreme hard ! What man can be safe, if this be admitted ? My lords, it is hard in another respect, — that there should be no token set, by which we should know this offence, no admonition by which we should avoid it. My lords, be pleased to give that regard to the peerage of England, as never expose yourselves to such moot points — such constructive interpretations of laws : if there must be a trial of wits, let the subject-matter be of somewhat else than the lives and honours of peers. It will be wisdom for yourselves, for your posterity, and for the whole kingdom, to cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes of constructive and arbitrary treason, as the primitive Christians did their books of

curious arts, and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the law and statute, that telleth us what is and what is not treason, without being more ambitious to be more learned in the art of killing than our forefathers! It is now 240 years since any man was touched for this alleged crime, to this height, before myself. Let us not awaken these sleeping lions to our destructions, by taking up a few musty records, that have lain by the walls so many ages, forgotten or neglected. May your lordships please not to add this to my other misfortunes,—let not a precedent be derived from me, so disadvantageous as this will be in its consequence to the whole kingdom. Do not, through me, wound the interest of the commonwealth:—and howsoever these gentlemen say, they speak for the commonwealth, yet, in this particular, I indeed speak for it, and show the inconveniences and mischiefs that will fall upon it: for, as it is said in the statute 1 Hen. IV., ‘No one will know what to do or say for fear of such penalties.’ Do not put, my lords, such difficulties upon ministers of state, that men of wisdom, of honour, and of fortune, may not with cheerfulness and safety be employed for the public. If you weigh and measure them by grains and scruples, the public affairs of the kingdom will lie waste, no man will meddle with them who hath any thing to lose. My lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of those dear pledges a saint in Heaven hath left me.” At this word (says the reporter) he stopped awhile, letting fall some tears to her memory; then he went on:—“What I forfeit myself is nothing; but that indiscretion should extend to my posterity woundeth me to the very soul. You will pardon my infirmity; something I should have added, but am not able; therefore let it pass. Now, my lords, for myself, I have been, by the blessing of Almighty God, taught that the afflictions of this present life are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory, which shall be revealed hereafter. And so, my lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I freely

submit myself to your judgment, and whether that judgment be of life or death, *Te Deum laudamus.*"¹

Great was the struggle to be made against such noble and affecting eloquence, and Pym proved himself not unequal to it. While we yield due admiration to the unexampled demeanour of Strafford in this conjuncture;—to that quick perception of his exact position, which, while it revealed to him the whole magnitude of the danger, suggested the most plausible defence, and supplied resolution where, to an ordinary spirit, it would have induced despair,—so that, while sinking down the tremendous gulf into which he had been so suddenly precipitated, he displayed the same coolness in catching at every weed, however feeble, that might retard his descent, as though the peril had long been foreseen and the methods of escape long rehearsed,—while we praise this in him, let us not forget the still more extraordinary bearing of his adversary—the triumph of Pym, as unparalleled as the overthrow of Strafford. In either case the individual rose or fell with the establishment or the withdrawal of a great principle. Pym knew and felt this, and that with him it now rested whether or

¹ This is from Whitelocke's Memorials. It is the most beautiful and complete report that has been given. I may subjoin a characteristic note from Baillie's letters. "At the end he made such a pathetic oration, for half an hour, as ever comedian did on the stage. The matter and expression was exceeding brave. Doubtless if he had grace and civil goodness he is a most eloquent man. One passage is most spoken of; his breaking off in weeping and silence when he spoke of his first wife. Some took it for a true defect in his memory; others for a notable part of his rhetoric; some that true grief and remorse at that remembrance had stopt his mouth; for they say that his first lady, being with child, and finding one of his mistress's letters, brought it to him, and chiding him therefore, he struck her on the breast, whereof she shortly died."—Letters, p. 291. The latter statement is only one of a thousand horrible and disgusting falsehoods which, notwithstanding the abundance of true accusatory matter, were circulated at the time against Strafford, and one or two specimens of which may be found in the fourth volume of lord Somer's Collection of Tracts. His friends, however, it is to be remarked, were not less forward in getting up all sorts of fictitious points of sympathy (in some respects, also, unnecessary, since they had plenty of true resources in that regard) around him and his memory; and as an instance I may mention that an extremely pathetic letter of sir Walter Raleigh to his wife (the most pathetic, probably, in the language), written while he expected execution, was printed with Strafford's signature, and with the alteration of words to meet the circumstances of Strafford's death. The writers of the Biog. Brit. do not seem to have been aware of this. But see Somers' Tracts, vol. iv. pp. 249, 250; and compare with Biog. Brit. vol. v. p. 3478.

not the privileges so long contested, the rights so long misunderstood, of the great body of the people, should win at last their assured consummation and acknowledgement. In the speeches of Pym the true point is to be recognised, on which the vindication of Strafford's death turns. The defence of the accused was technical, and founded on rules of evidence, and legal constructions of statutes, which, though clearly defined since, were in that day recognised doubtfully, and frequently exceeded. The defence of the accusers, if they are indeed to be put upon their defence before a posterity for whose rights they hazarded all things, rests upon a principle which was implanted in man when he was born, and which no age can deaden or obscure. "My lords," said Pym, "we charge him with nothing but what the 'law' in every man's breast condemns, the light of nature, the light of common reason, the rules of common society."¹ Nor can it be doubted, that occasions must ever be recognised by the philosopher and the statesman, when the community may be re-invested in those rights, which were theirs before a particular law was established. If ever such an occasion had arisen, surely, looking back upon the occurrences of the past, and forward upon the prospects of the future, it had arisen here. It was time that outraged humanity should appeal, as Pym afterwards urged, to "the element of all laws, out of which they are derived, the end of all laws, to which they are designed, and in which they are perfected."² The public liberty was in danger, from the life of Strafford, and the question of justice reared itself above the narrow limits of the law. For yet, again Pym urged, the law itself can be no other than that "which puts a difference betwixt good and evil, betwixt just and unjust! It is God alone who subsists by himself, all other things subsist in a mutual dependence and relation!"³ Nor can it be alleged, even by the legal opponents of this impeachment, that the proofs

¹ Rushworth, vol. viii. pp. 108, 109.
² Ibid. p. 661.

³ Ibid. p. 661.

advanced under the fifteenth article, which had charged Strafford with raising money by his own authority, and quartering troops upon the people of Ireland, did not advance far more nearly to a substantive treason, within the statute of Edward III., than many of the recognised precedents that were offered. "Neither will this," Pym contended on that ground with a terrible earnestness, "be a new way of blood. There are marks enough to trace this law to the very original of this kingdom; and if it hath not been put in execution, as he allegeth, this 240 years, it was not for want of a law, but that all that time had not bred a man, bold enough to commit such crimes as these!"

At this moment, it is said, Strafford had been closely and earnestly watching Pym, when the latter, suddenly turning, met the fixed and wasted features of his early associate. A rush of other feelings crowding into that look, for a moment dispossessed him. "His papers, he looked on," says Baillie, "but they could not help him to a point or two, so he behoved to pass them." But a moment, and Pym's eloquence and dignified command returned. He had thoroughly contemplated his commission, and had resolved on its fulfilment. The occasion was not let slip, the energies wound up to thisfeat through years of hard endurance were not frozen,—and the cause of the people was gained. In the condemnation of Strafford, they resumed an alienated power, and were re-instated in an ancient freedom.

He was condemned. The judges themselves, on a solemn reference by the house of lords for their opinion, whether some of the articles amounted to treason, answered unanimously that upon all which their lordships had voted to be proved, it was their opinion the earl of Strafford did deserve to undergo the pains and penalties of high treason by law.

Meanwhile, before this opinion was taken, the commons had changed their course, and introduced a bill of attainder. This has been sorely reproached to them, and one or two of the men who had acted with

them up to this point now receded. Lord Digby was the principal of these. "Truly, sir," he said, on the discussion of the bill, "I am still the same in my opinions and affections, as unto the earl of Strafford. I confidently believe him to be the most dangerous minister, the most insupportable to free subjects, that can be charactered. I believe his practices in themselves as high, as tyrannical, as any subject ever ventured on ; and the malignity of them hugely aggravated by those rare abilities of his, whereof God had given him the use, but the devil the application. In a word, I believe him to be still that grand apostate to the commonwealth, who must not expect to be pardoned in this world, till he be dispatched to the other. And yet, let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand must not be to that dispatch. I protest, as my conscience stands informed, I had rather it were off!" The authority of Digby in this affair, however, may well be questioned, since it has been proved that he had at this time entered into an intrigue to save the life of the prisoner, and though he spoke against the bill with extreme earnestness, he at the same time no less earnestly offered to swear, that he knew nothing of a certain copy of important notes which had been lost, though they were afterwards found in his handwriting, in the royal cabinet taken at Naseby, and it turned out that having access to them, as a member of the impeachment committee, he had stolen them.¹

The bill of attainder was passed on the 21st of April. While on its way to the lords, the king went to that house and addressed them. "I am sure," he said, "you all know that I have been present at the hearing of this great case from the one end to the other ; and I must tell you, that I cannot in my conscience condemn him of high treason : —it is not fit for me to argue the business ; I am sure you will not expect that ; a positive doctrine best becomes the mouth

¹ See Whitelocke, p. 43.

of a prince." After beseeching them not to treat the earl with severity, he thus concluded :—" I must confess, for matter of misdemeanors, I am so clear in that, that though I will not chalk out the way, yet let me tell you, that I do think my lord Strafford is not fit hereafter to serve me or the commonwealth in any place of trust, no, not so much as that of a constable. Therefore, I leave it to you, my lords, to find some such way as to bring me out of this great strait, and keep ourselves and the kingdom from such inconveniences. Certainly he that thinks him guilty of high treason in his conscience may condemn him of misdemeanor."

When Strafford heard in his prison of this intended interference, he had earnestly protested against it, and, on learning that the step was actually taken, he gave himself up for lost.¹ He had judged truly. The leaders of the commons took advantage of the occasion it offered. The presbyterian pulpits of the following day, which happened to be Sunday, sent forth into every quarter of London, cries of " justice upon the great delinquent;" and on the succeeding morning, furious multitudes, variously armed, thronged the approaches to the house of lords; placarded as " Straffordians, or betrayers of their country," the names of those commoners who had voted against the attainder; and shouted openly for the blood of Strafford.

Pym, meanwhile, had discovered and crushed a conspiracy for his release, which had originated in the court, and was disclosed by the inviolable fidelity of the governor of the Tower.

No hope remained. The lords, proceeding upon the judicial opinion I have named, passed the bill of attainder, voting upon the articles judicially, and not as if they were enacting a legislative measure.

The earl of Strafford, with a generosity worthy of his intellect, now wrote to the king and released him

¹ Clarendon and Radcliffe.

from his pledged word. "To say, sir," he wrote in the course of this memorable letter, "that there hath not been a strife in me, were to make me less man than, God knoweth, my infirmities make me; and to call a destruction upon myself and my young children (where the intentions of my heart at least have been innocent of this great offence), may be believed, will find no easy consent from flesh and blood." Its concluding passages ran thus:—"So now, to set your majesty's conscience at liberty, I do most humbly beseech your majesty, for prevention of evils which may happen by your refusal to pass this bill, and by this means to remove, praised be God, (I cannot say this accursed, but, I confess), this unfortunate thing, forth of the way towards that blessed agreement, which God, I trust, shall ever establish between you and your subjects. Sir, my consent shall more acquit you herein to God, than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury done. And as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul, so, sir, to you I can give the life of this world, with all the cheerfulness imaginable, in the just acknowledgment of your exceeding favours, and only beg, that in your goodness you would vouchsafe to cast your gracious regard upon my poor son and his three sisters, less or more, and no otherwise, than as their (in present) unfortunate father may hereafter appear more or less guilty of this death."

The singular note which has been preserved by Burnet, and which relates circumstances taken from the lips of Hollis himself, continues the deep interest of this tragic history:—"The earl of Strafford had married his sister: so, though in the parliament he was one of the hottest men of the party, yet when that matter was before them, he always withdrew. When the bill of attainder was passed, the king sent for him, to know what he could do to save the earl of Strafford. Hollis answered that, if the king pleased, since the execution of the law was in him, he might legally grant

him a reprieve, which must be good in law ;—but he would not advise it. That which he proposed was, that lord Strafford should send him a petition for a short respite, to settle his affairs, and to prepare for death, upon which he advised the king to come next day with the petition in his hands, and lay it before the two houses, with a speech which he drew for the king, and Hollis said to him, he would try his interest among his friends to get them to consent to it. He prepared a great many by assuring them that, if they would save lord Strafford, he would become wholly theirs in consequence of his first principles, and that he might do them much more service by being preserved, than he could do if made an example upon such new and doubtful points. In this he had wrought on so many, that he believed if the king's party had struck into it he might have saved him.”¹

While the party thus prepared to second Hollis waited their time, the king suddenly resorted to a different scheme, and, having with tears in his eyes signed the commission for giving assent to the bill, declaring at the same time, that Strafford's condition was happier than his own, sent the lords a letter, written by his own hand, and, as a further proof of his deep interest, with the young prince of Wales as its messenger. “ I did yesterday,” ran this letter, “ satisfy the justice of the kingdom, by passing the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford ; but mercy being as inherent and inseparable to a king as justice, I desire at this time, in some measure, to show that likewise, by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfil the natural course of his life in a close imprisonment. Yet so, if ever he make the least offer to escape, or offer directly or indirectly to meddle in any sort of public business, especially with me, either by message or letter, it shall cost him his life without farther process. This, if it may be done without the discontentment of my people, will be an unspeakable contentment to me. To which end, as in the first place, I by this letter do

¹ *Own Times* book i.

earnestly desire your approbation, and, to endear it more, have chose him to carry it, that of all your house is most dear to me. So I desire, that by a conference you will endeavour to give the house of commons contentment, assuring you that the exercise of mercy is no more pleasing to me, than to see both houses of parliament consent, for my sake, that I should moderate the severity of the law in so important a case. I will not say, that your complying with me in this my intended mercy shall make me more willing, but certainly 't will make me more cheerful, in granting your just grievances. But if no less than his life can satisfy my people, I must say — *fiat justitia*. Thus again, recommending the consideration of my intention to you, I rest." The following was added as a postscript:—
" *If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him until Saturday.*"

Hollis's scheme was now thoroughly defeated, and death secured to Strafford. This pitiable letter ended all. It is a sorry office to plant the foot on a worm so crushed and writhing as the wretched king who signed it, for it was one of the few crimes of which he was in the event thoroughly sensible, and friend has for once co-operated with foe in the steady application to it of the branding iron. There is in truth hardly any way of relieving the "damned spot" of its intensity of hue, even by distributing the concentrated infamy over other portions of Charles's character. The reader who has gone through the preceding details of Strafford's life can surely not suggest any. For when we have convinced ourselves that this "unthankful king" never really loved Strafford; that, as much as in him lay, he kept the dead Buckingham in his old privilege of mischief, by adopting his aversions and abiding by his spleenful purposes; that, in his refusals to award those increased honours for which his minister was a petitioner, on the avowed ground of the royal interest, may be discerned the petty triumph of one who dares not dispense with the services thrust upon him, but

revenges himself by withholding their well-earned reward; — still does the blackness accumulate to baffle our efforts. The paltry tears he is said to have shed only burn that blackness in. If his after conduct indeed had been different, he might have availed himself of one excuse,—but that the man, who, in a few short months, proved that he could make so resolute a stand somewhere, should have judged this event no occasion for attempting it, is either a crowning infamy or an infinite consolation, according as we may judge wickedness or weakness to have preponderated, in the constitution of Charles I.

Sufficient has been said to vindicate these remarks from any, the remotest, intention of throwing doubt on the perfect justice of that bill of attainder. Bills of attainder had not been uncommon in England; are the same in principle as the ordinary bills of pains and penalties; and the resort to that principle in the present case, arose from no failure of the impeachment, as has been frequently alleged¹, but because, in the course of that impeachment, circumstances arose, which suggested to the great leader of the popular cause the greater safety of fixing this case upon wider and more special grounds. Without stretching to the slightest extent the boundaries of any statute, they thought it better at once to bring Strafford's treason to the condemnation of the sources of all law. In this view it is one of their wisest achievements that has been brought within the most hasty and ill-considered censure — their famous proviso that the attainder should not be acted upon by the judges as a precedent in determining the crime of treason. As to Strafford's death, the remark that the people had no alternative, includes all that it is necessary to urge. The king's assurances of his intention to afford him no further opportunity of crime, could surely weigh nothing with men who had observed how an infinitely more disgusting minister of

¹ The judges and peers voted judicially even on the bill, as has been already stated.

his will had only seemed to rise the higher in his master's estimation for the accumulated curses of the nation. Nothing but the knife of Felton could sever in that case the weak head and the wicked instrument, and it is to the honour of the adversaries of Strafford that they were earnest that their cause should vindicate itself completely, and look for no adventitious redress. Strafford had outraged the people — this was not denied. He was defended on the ground of those outrages not amounting to a treason against the king. For my own part, this defence appears to me decisive, looking at it in a technical view, and with our present settlement of evidence and treason. But to concede that point, after the advances they had made, would have been in that day to concede all. It was to be shown that another power had claim to the loyalty and the service of Strafford — and if a claim, then a vengeance to exact for its neglect. And this was done.

Nor should the subject be quitted without the remark, that the main principle contended for by Pym and his associates was, at the last, fully submitted to by Strafford. He allowed the full power of the people's assembly to take cognizance of his deeds and to dispose of his life, while most earnestly engaged in defending the former and preserving the latter. Now the calm and magnanimous patience of Strafford was very compatible with a fixed denial of the authority of his judges, had that appeared contestable in his eyes, — but we find no intimation of such a disposition. He would not have the parliament's "punishment precede promulgation of a law;" he pleads that "to be punished by a law subsequent to the fact is extreme hard;" and that "it is hard that there should be no token set by which we should know this offence, no admonition by which we should avoid it;" and he is desirous that "a precedent may not be derived from one so disadvantageous as this;" — but, in the mean time, the cause is gained, the main and essential point is given up! The old boasts of the lord lieutenant's being accountable to

the king alone, of the king's will being the one and the only law of his service, are no longer heard. It may be said that a motive of prudence withheld Strafford from indignantly appealing to the king in his lurking place, from the unrecognised array of questioners and self constituted inquisitors, who had taken upon themselves to supersede him, — but when the sentence was passed and its execution at hand, when hope was gone and the end rapidly hastening, we still find Strafford offering nothing against the right.

One momentary emotion, not inconsistent with his letter to the king, escaped him when he was told to prepare for death. He asked if the king had indeed assented to the bill. Secretary Carleton answered in the affirmative; and Strafford, laying his hand on his heart, and raising his eyes to heaven, uttered the memorable words, — “Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation.” Charles's conduct was indeed incredibly monstrous.

Three days more of existence were granted to Strafford, which he employed calmly in the arrangement of his affairs. He wrote a petition to the house of lords to have compassion on his innocent children; addressed a letter to his wife bidding her affectionately to support her courage; and accompanied it with a letter of final instruction and advice to his eldest son. This is in all respects deeply touching:—“**MY DEAREST WILL,**” he wrote, “These are the last lines that you are to receive from a father that tenderly loves you. I wish there were a greater leisure to impart my mind unto you, but our merciful God will supply all things by his grace, and guide and protect you in all your ways,—to whose infinite goodness I bequeath you. And therefore be not discouraged, but serve him, and trust in him, and he will preserve and prosper you in all things. Be sure you give all respect to my wife, that hath ever had a great love unto you, and therefore will be well becoming you. Never be awanting in your love and care to your sisters, but let them ever be most dear unto you:—for, this will give

others cause to esteem and respect you for it, and is a duty that you owe them in the memory of your excellent mother and myself ; therefore your care and affection to them must be the very same that you are to have of your self ; and the like regard must you have to your youngest sister ; for indeed you owe it her also, both for her father and mother's sake. Sweet Will, be careful to take the advice of those friends, which are by me desired to advise you for your education." And so the tenderness of the father proceeds through many fond and affectionate charges. With characteristic hope he says — "The king I trust will deal graciously with you, and restore you those honours and that fortune, which a distempered time hath deprived you of, together with the life of your father." Advice is next given to meet the occurrence of such a chance. " Be sure to avoid as much as you can to enquire after those that have been sharp in their judgments towards me, and I charge you never to suffer thought of revenge to enter your heart ; but be careful to be informed, who were my friends in this prosecution, and to them apply yourself to make them your friends also ; and on such you may rely, and bestow much of your conversation amongst them. And God almighty of his infinite goodness bless you and your children's children ; and his same goodness bless your sisters in like manner, perfect you in every good work, and give you right understandings in all things. Amen. Your most loving father, THOMAS WENTWORTH."¹

At one time, probably, a deeper pang would have been involved to Strafford in this affecting surrender of his cherished title, than in that of existence

¹ Strafford Papers, vol. ii. p. 416. The letter bears date the 11th of May, 1641, and has the following postscript : — " You must not fail to behave yourself towards my lady Clare, your grandmother, with all duty and observance ; for most tenderly doth she love you, and hath been passing kind unto me. God reward her charity for it. And both in this and all the rest, the same that I counsel you, the same do I direct also to your sisters, that so the same may be observed by you all. And once more do I, from my very soul, beseech our gracious God to bless and govern you in all, to the saving you in the day of his visitation, and join us again in the communion of his blessed saints, where is fulness of joy and bliss for evermore. Amen, Amen." The "youngest sister" was the infant of lady Strafford.

itself. But this was not the time. Nothing but concern for his family and friends disturbed the composure of his remaining hours. He wrote kind and encouraging letters to "dear George," as he called sir George Radcliffe; shed tears for the death of Wandesford, whom he had entrusted with the care of his government and family, but who broke his heart on hearing of the sad events that had fallen on his patron; and requested of the primate of Ireland (Usher), who attended him, to desire "my lord's Grace of Canterbury," his old friend, the now imprisoned and afflicted Laud, "to lend me his prayers this night and to give me his blessing when I go abroad to-morrow, and to be in his window, that, by my last farewell, I may give him thanks for this, and all other, his former favours." He had previously asked the lieutenant of the Tower if it were possible to have an interview with Laud, adding with playful sarcasm, "You shall hear what passes betwixt us. It is not a time either for him to plot heresy, or me to plot treason." The lieutenant in reply suggested a petition to the parliament. "No," was the quiet rejoinder. "I have gotten my despatch from them, and will trouble them no more. I am now petitioning a higher court, where neither partiality can be expected, nor error feared."

Laud, old and feeble, staggered to the window of his cell as Strafford passed on the following morning, and, as he lifted his hands to bestow the blessing his lips were unable to utter, fell back and fainted in the arms of his attendant.

Strafford moved on to the scaffold with undisturbed composure. His body, so soon to be released, had given him a respite of its infirmities for that trying hour. Rushworth, the clerk of the parliament, was one of the spectators, and has minutely described the scene. "When he arrived outside the Tower, the lieutenant desired him to take coach at the gate, lest the enraged mob should tear him in pieces. 'No,' said he, 'Mr. Lieutenant, I dare look death in the face, and the people too; have

you a care I do not escape ; 't is equal to me how I die, whether by the stroke of the executioner, or by the madness and fury of the people, if that may give them better content.' " Not less than 100,000 persons, who had crowded in from all parts, were visible on Tower-hill, in a long and dark perspective. Strafford, in his walk, took off his hat frequently, and saluted them, and received not a word of insult or reproach. His step and manner are described by Rushworth to have been those of "a general marching at the head of an army, to breathe victory, rather than those of a condemned man, to undergo the sentence of death." At his side, upon the scaffold, stood his brother, sir George Wentworth, the bishop of Armagh, the earl of Cleveland, and others of his friends,—and behind them the indefatigable collector Rushworth, who "being then there on the scaffold with him," as he says, took down the speech which, having asked their patience first, Strafford at some length addressed to the people. He declared the innocence of his intentions, whatever might have been the construction of his acts, and said that the prosperity of his country was his fondest wish. But it augured ill, he told them, for the people's happiness, to write the commencement of a reformation in letters of blood. "One thing I desire to be heard in," he added, "and do hope that for Christian charity's sake I shall be believed. I was so far from being against parliaments, that I did always think parliaments in England to be the happy constitution of the kingdom and nation, and the best means, under God, to make the king and his people happy."¹

He then turned to take leave of the friends who had accompanied him to the scaffold. He beheld his brother weeping excessively. "Brother," he said, "what do you see in me to cause these tears ? Does any innocent fear betray in me—guilt ? or my innocent boldness

¹ The paper of minutes from which he had spoken this speech, was afterwards found lying on the scaffold, and was printed by Rushworth vol. viii. p. 761. See Appendix to this Memoir.

—atheism? Think that you are now accompanying me the fourth time to my marriage bed. That block must be my pillow, and here I shall rest from all my labours. No thoughts of envy, no dreams of treason, nor jealousies, nor cares, for the king, the state, or myself, shall interrupt this easy sleep. Remember me to my sister, and to my wife; and carry my blessing to my eldest son, and to Ann, and Arabella, not forgetting my little infant, that knows neither good nor evil, and cannot speak for itself. God speak for it, and bless it!" While undressing himself, and winding his hair under a cap, he said, looking on the block — "I do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time as ever I did when I went to bed."

"Then," proceeds Rushworth, closing this memorable scene, "then he called, 'Where is the man that shall do this last office (meaning the executioner)? call him to me.' When he came and asked him forgiveness, he told him he forgave him and all the world. Then kneeling down by the block, he went to prayer again by himself, the bishop of Armagh kneeling on the one side, and the minister on the other; to the which minister after prayer he turned himself, and spoke some few words softly; having his hands lifted up, the minister closed his hands with his. Then bowing himself to the earth, to lay down his head on the block, he told the executioner that he would first lay down his head to try the fitness of the block, and take it up again, before he laid it down for good and all; and so he did; and before he laid it down again he told the executioner that he would give him warning when to strike, by stretching forth his hands; and then he laid down his neck on the block, stretching out his hands; the executioner struck off his head at one blow, then took the head up in his hand, and showed it to all the people, and said, 'God save the king!'"

Thus, on Wednesday, the 12th of May, 1641, died Thomas Wentworth, the first earl of Strafford. Within a few weeks of his death, the parliament mitigated the

most severe consequences of their punishment to his children ; and, in the succeeding reign, the attainder was reversed, the proceedings obliterated, and his son restored to the earldom.

A great lesson is written in the life of this truly extraordinary person. In the career of Strafford is to be sought the justification of the world's "appeal from tyranny to God." In him Despotism had at length obtained an instrument with mind to comprehend, and resolution to act upon, her principles in their length and breadth,—and enough of her purposes were effected by him, to enable mankind to see "as from a tower the end of all." I cannot discern one false step in Strafford's public conduct, one glimpse of a recognition of an alien principle, one instance of a dereliction of the law of his being, which can come in to dispute the decisive result of the experiment, or explain away its failure. The least vivid fancy will have no difficulty in taking up the interrupted design, and by wholly enfeebling, or materially emboldening, the insignificant nature of Charles, and by according some half dozen years of immunity to the "fretted tenement" of Strafford's "fiery soul,"—contemplate then, for itself, the perfect realisation of the scheme of "making the prince the most absolute lord in Christendom." That done,—let it pursue the same course with respect to Eliot's noble imaginings, or to young Vane's dreamy aspirings, and apply in like manner a fit machinery to the working out the projects which made the dungeon of the one a holy place, and sustained the other in his self-imposed exile.—The result is great and decisive ! It establishes, in renewed force, those principles of political conduct which have endured, and must continue to endure, "like truth from age to age."

APPENDIX

TO THE

LIFE OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.

MY HUMBLE OPINION CONCERNING A PARLIAMENT IN
THIS YOUR MAJESTY'S KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

CHARLES R.

Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Upon these reasons alledged by you, and the confidence which we have that you have well weighed all the circumstances mentioned by you, or otherwise necessary to the calling of a parliament; and especially relying upon your faith and dexterity in managing so great a work for the good of our service; we are fully persuaded to condescend to the present calling of a parliament; which accordingly we authorise and require you to do, and therein to make use of all the motives you here propound.

necessary to be considered with great deliberation — whether the present conjuncture of affairs doth now advise a parliament or no? And, after a serious discourse with myself, my reason persuades me for the assembling thereof.

2. For, the contribution from the country towards the army ending in December next, your majesty's revenue falls short

1. Albeit the calling of a parliament in this kingdom is at no time of so much hazard, where nothing is propounded as a law before it first borrow motion from your majesty's immediate allowance under your great seal, as it is in England, where there is a liberty assumed to offer every thing in their own time and order; and this subordination, whereunto they have been led by the wisdom of former times, is ever to be held as a sacred prerogative, not to be departed from, in no piece to be broken or infringed. Yet is the proposition always weighty—very

twenty thousand pounds sterling by the year of the present charge it is burthened withal, besides the vast debt of fourscore thousand pounds, Irish, upon the crown; which yearly payments, alone, are impossible by any other ordinary way to be in time supplied, but by the subject in parliament; and to pass to the extraordinary, before there be at least an attempt first to effect it with ease, were to love difficulties too well, rather voluntarily to seek them, than unwillingly to meet them, and might seem as well vanity in the first respect so to affect them, as faintness to bow under them, when they are not to be avoided.

3. The next inclination thereunto ariseth in me, from the condition of this country, grown very much more civil and rich since the access of your royal father of blessed memory, and your majesty to the crown; that all you have here is issued out again amongst them for their protection and safety, without any considerable reservation, for other the great affairs and expenses abroad; that this great charge is sustained, and this great debt contracted through imployments for a publick good, whereof the benefit hitherto hath been intirely theirs; that there hath been but one subsidy granted in all this time, nor any other supply but this contribution; in exchange whereof, your princely bounty returned them graces as beneficial to this subject as their money was to your majesty; so as their substance having been so increased under the guard of your wisdom and justice, so little issued hence from them, the crown so pressed, only for their good, and so modest a calling upon them now for a supply, which in all wisdom, good nature, and conscience, they are not to deny; should they not conform themselves to your gracious will, their unthankfulness to God, and the best of kings, becomes inexcusable before all the world, and the regal power more warrantably to be at after extended for redeeming and recovering your majesty's revenues thus lost, and justly to punish so great a forfeit as this must needs be judged to be in them.

4. Next, the frightful apprehension, which at this time makes their hearts beat, lest the quarterly payments towards the army, continued now almost ten years, might in fine turn to an hereditary charge upon their lands, inclines them to give any reasonable thing in present, to secure themselves of that fear

for the future ; and therefore, according to the wholesome counsel of the physician, — *Dum dolet accipe.*

5. And lastly, If they should meanly cast from them these mighty obligations, which indeed I cannot fear, your majesty's affairs can never suffer less by their starting aside, when the general peace abroad admits a more united power in your majesty, and less distracted thoughts in your ministers, to chastise such a forgetfulness, to call to their remembrance, and to inforce from them other and better duties than these.

Sect. 6, 7, 8, 9. *We appoint the time of the meeting to be in Trinity term next, for the reasons you here alledge.*

6. In the second place, the time your majesty shall in your wisdom appoint for this meeting imports very much ; which

with all submission I should advise, might not be longer put off than Easter or Trinity term at farthest ; and I shall crave leave to offer my reasons.

7. The improvements mentioned in my dispatch to the lord treasurer, from which I no ways recede, would not be fore-slowed ; wherein we lose much by deferring this meeting ; a circumstance very considerable in these streights, wherein, if surprised, might be of much disadvantage, in case the parliament answer not expectation ; and to enter upon that work before, would be an argument for them to scant their supply to your majesty.

8. Again, a breach of parliament would prejudice less thus than in winter, having at the worst six months to turn our eyes about, and many helps to be gained in that space ; where, in the other case, the contribution ending in December next, we should be put upon an instant of time, to read over our lesson at first sight.

9. Then the calling of a parliament, and determining of the quarterly payments, falling out much upon one, might make them apprehend there was a necessity enforcing a present agreement, if not the good one we would, yet the best we could get, and so embolden them to make and flatter themselves to gain their own conditions, and conditions are not to be admitted with any subjects, less with this people, where your majesty's absolute sovereignty goes much higher than it is taken, perhaps, to do in England,

Sect. 10. We well approve and require the making of two sessions, as you propose. The first to be held in summer for our own supplies; and the second in winter, for passing such laws and graces only, as shall be allowed by us. But this intimation of two sessions, we think not fit to be imparted to any, till the parliament be set. And further, we will admit no capitulations nor demands of any assurance under our broad seal, nor of sending over deputies or committees to treat here with us, nor of any restraint in our bill of subsidies, nor of any condition of not maintaining the army; but in case any of these be insisted upon, and that they will not otherwise proceed or be satisfied with our royal promise for the second session, or shall

deny or delay the passing of our bills, we require you thereupon to dissolve the parliament; and forthwith to take order to continue the contributions for our army, and withhold to proceed to such improvements of our revenue as are already in proposition, or may hereafter be thought upon for the advantage of our crown.

Sect. 11. Concerning the short law to preserve the uttermost benefit of the compositions upon concealments, and the plantations of Connacht and Ormond, we like it well, if you can obtain it, for confirmation of what you have done, or shall hereafter do about those businesses. But your promising of

10. And lastly, There being some of your majesty's graces, which being passed into laws, might be of great prejudice to the crown; and yet it being to be feared they will press for them all, and uncertain what humour the denying any of them might move in their minds, I conceive, under favour, it would be much better to make two sessions of it, one in summer, the other in winter; in the former, to settle your majesty's supply, and in the latter, to enact so many of those graces as in honour and wisdom should be judged equal, when the putting aside of the rest might be of no ill consequence to other your royal purposes.

11. All the objections I am able to suggest unto myself, are two: That it might render fruitless the intended improvement upon the concealments, and prejudice the plantations of Connacht and Ormond. The former may easily be helped by a short law, propounded in my des-

such a law, we doubt, may hinder the service, and cause them to be satisfy'd with nothing but a special statute.

Sect. 12, 13, 14, 15. *For demands to be made for us, we allow your propositions in these sections, both in the matter and in the form; only the last clause, which giveth hope to maintain the army afterwards without further charge to them at all, we conceive may be drawn to a binding assumption; and besides, it is not necessary; the very proposition being sufficient to that effect.*

ascertain the payments of your army, and to strike off the debts of your crown; that, for the enacting of all such profitable and wholesome laws, as a moderate and good people may expect from a wise and gracious king.

14. That, this being the order of nature, reason, and civility, your majesty expects it should be entirely observed, and yourself wholly intrusted by them; which they are not only to grant to be fit in the general case of king and subjects, but ought indeed to acknowledge it with thankfulness due to your majesty in particular, when they look back, and call to mind, how for their ease you were content to take the sixscore thousand pounds (which their agents gave to be paid in three) in six years; and not barely so neither, but to double your graces towards them the whilst, which they have enjoyed accordingly, much to their advantage and greatly to the loss of the crown.

15. And that considering the army hath been represented over to your majesty from this council, and in a manner from the body of this whole kingdom, to be of absolute necessity, to give comfort to the quiet minds in their honest labours, to contain the licentious spirits within the modest bounds of

patch to my lord treasurer; and posito, that there no other law pass the first session; the second is likewise sufficiently secured.

12. Then it is to be foreseen, what your majesty will demand, how induce and pursue the same, for the happy settlement of the regal rights and powers in this more subordinate kingdom.

13. My humble advice is, to declare, at the first opening of the meeting, that your majesty intends and promises two sessions; this former for yourself, that latter, in Michaelmas term next, for them; this to

sobriety, it consists not with your majesty's wisdom to give unto the world, no, not the appearance of so much improvidence in your own counsels, of so much forgetfulness in a case of their safety, as to leave that pillar of your authority, and their peace, unset for continuance, at least one six months before the wearing forth of their contribution.

Sect. 16, 17, 18. *We do not conceive that hereby you purpose easily to relinquish any of our demands, for all which you have laid so fair and solid grounds. And considering the payment of the army is absolutely necessary to be borne by the country, they cannot pretend by their three subsidies to make a fitting recognition of respect for our coming to the crown, without that last addition to buy in rents and pensions.*

further charge to them at all; which law past, they shou'd have as much leisure to enact for themselves at after, as they could desire, either now, or in winter. Nay your majesty wou'd be graciously pleased, with the assistance of your council, to advise seriously with them, that nothing might remain, either unthought of, or deny'd, conduced to the publick good of this kingdom: but if they made difficulty to proceed with your majesty in this manner, other counsels must be thought of, and little to be rely'd, or expected for from them.

17. I am not to flatter your majesty so far, as to raise any hope, on that side, that all this shou'd be granted, but by pressing both; and especially the continuance of the quarterly payments to the army, which they dread above any earthly thing. I conceive it probable, that to determine and lay asleep (as they think) the contribution, and in acknowledgment of your majesty's happy access to the crown, they may be drawn to a present gift of three subsidies, payable in three years, which alone wou'd keep the army on foot during that

16. Therefore your majesty was well assured in conformity to the rules of reason and judgment, they would presently grant three subsidies to be paid in three years, to disengage the crown of fourscore thousand pound debt; and continue their quarterly payments towards the army four years longer; in which time it was hopeful (suitable to your gracious intentions) some other expedient might be found out,

to maintain the army without

time; and if my calculation hold, almost discharge the debt of the crown besides.

18. For thus I make my estimate: the contribution from the country, is now but twenty thousand pounds sterling by the year; whereas I have good reason to trust, each subsidy will raise thirty thousand pounds sterling; and so there will be ten thousand pounds for three years, over and above the establishment: which thirty thousand pounds sterling, well and profitably issued, will, I trust, with honour to your majesty, and moderate satisfaction of the parties, strike off the whole fourscore thousand pounds Irish, which in present presseth so sore upon this crown.

Sect. 19, 20, 21, 22. *We like well the appointing of such a committee, and we refer the nomination to yourself. We have also given order to some of our council here, with the assistance of our attorney general, to consider of the graces, that nothing pass by law which may prejudice our crown.*

19. And then, sir, after that in Michaelmas term, all beneficial acts for the subject be thought of, as many, no fewer nor no more, enacted, than were fit in honour and wisdom to be granted; if for a conclusion to this parliament, we could gain from them other two subsidies, to buy in rents and pensions, to

ten thousand pounds yearly value; (a thing they are inclinable unto, as is mention'd in my dispatch to the lord treasurer) I judge, there were an happy issue of this meeting; and that it shou'd, through God's blessing, appear to the world in a few years, you had without charge made a more absolute conquest of this nation by your wisdom, than all your royal progenitors have been able to accomplish by their armies, and vast expense of treasure and blood.

20. These being the ends, in my poor opinion, which are to be desired and attained, the best means to dispose and fit all concurring causes thereunto, are not to be forgotten; and therefore as preparatives, I make bold to offer these ensuing particulars: —

21. It seems to be very convenient, a committee be forthwith appointed of some few of us here, to take into consideration all the bills intended when there was a parliament to have

been called in the time of my lord Falkland ; such as shall be judged beneficial, to make them ready ; such as may be of too much prejudice to the crown, to lay them aside ; and to draw up others, which may chance to have been then omitted. This work may be by the committees either quickened or foreslown as the parliament proceeds, either warmer or cooler in your majesty's supplies.

22. Next, that your majesty's acts of grace directed to my lord Falkland the 24th of May, 1628, may be considered by such of your council in England as shall please your majesty to appoint ; there being many matters therein contained, which in a law, wou'd not futurely so well sort with the power requisite to be upheld in this kingdom, nor yet with your majesty's present profit ; which hath persuaded me to except against such as I hold best to be silently passed over, and to transmit a paper thereof to my lord treasurer.

Sect. 23. *We approve the reformation of these pressure, and extortions by examples, and by commissions, by our own authority ; but by no means to be done by parliament.*

help the former, if it be possible, I will find out two or three to make examples of ; and to remedy the latter, grant out a commission for examining, regulating, and setting down tables of fees in all your courts : so as they shall find your majesty's goodness and justice, watching and caring for their protection and ease, both in private and publick respects.

Sect. 24. *We allow of this course.*

recusants, nor yet the protestants, shall appear considerably more one than the other ; holding them as much as may be upon an equal ballance ; for they will prove thus easier to govern, than if either party were absolute. Then wou'd I, in private discourse, shew the recusant, that the contribution ending in December next, if your majesty's army were not supply'd some other way before, the twelve pence a Sunday must of

12. It is to be feared, the meaner sort of subjects here, live under the pressures of the great men ; and there is a general complaint, that officers exact much larger fees, than of

right they ought to do. To

I shall endeavour, the lower house may be so composed, as that neither the

necessity be exacted upon them; and shew the protestant, that your majesty must not let go the twenty thousand pounds contribution, nor yet discontent the other in matters of religion, till the army were some way else certainly provided for; and convince them both, that the present quarterly payments are not so burdensome as they pretend them to be; and that by the graces they have had already more benefit, than their money came to. Thus poising one by the other, which single might perchance prove more unhappy to deal with.

Sect. 25. *To make captains and officers burgesses we altogether dislike; because it is fitter they attend their charges at that time. Make your choice rather by particular knowledge of men's interests, and good affections to our service.*

Sect. 26. *In the higher house, for the prelates we have written our special letter to the primate of Armagh, addressing him therein to be directed by yourself.*

this side. And in the rest, your majesty hath such interest, what out of duty to the crown, and obnoxiousness in themselves, as I do not apprehend much, any difficulty amongst them.

Sect. 27. *For the peers, that their proxies may be well disposed, we wou'd have you send with speed the names of those there, in whom you repose special trust. And in case your list cannot be here in time, we will give order that all the proxies be sent to you with blanks to be assigned there. In general for the better prevent-*

25. I will labour to make as many captains and officers, burgesses, as possibly I can, who, having immediate dependence upon the crown, may almost sway the business betwixt the two parties, which way they please.

26. In the higher house, your majesty will have, I trust, the bishops wholly for you. The titular lords, rather than come over themselves, will put their proxies into such safe hands, as may be thought of on

27. To these, or to any thing else directed by your majesty, I will with all possible diligence apply myself so soon as I shall understand your pleasure therein; most humbly beseeching, you will take it into your gracious memory, how much your majesty's speedy resolution in this great business imports the

ing of practices and disorders, you shall suffer no meetings during the sitting of the houses, save only in publick, and for the service of the houses by appointment, and for no other ends.

1634, April 12.

The answers contained in the apostiles are made by his majesty, and by his commandment set down in this manner.

JOHN COKE.

A Copy of the Paper containing the Heads of the Lord Strafford's last Speech, written by his own Hand, as it was left upon the Scaffold.

1. I come to pay the last debt we owe to sin.
2. Rise to righteousness.
3. Die willingly.
4. Forgive all.
5. Submit to what is voted justice, but my intentions innocent from subverting, &c.
6. Wishing nothing more than great prosperity to king and people.
7. Acquit the king constrained.
8. Beseech to repent.
9. Strange way to write the beginning of reformation and settlement of a kingdom in blood on themselves.
10. Beseech that demand may rest there.
11. Call not blood on themselves.
12. Die in the faith of the church.
13. Pray for it, and desire their prayers with me.

prosperity of your affairs in this place; and in that respect, vouchsafe to hasten it as much as conveniently may be.

WENTWORTH.



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D.G. Arch.

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